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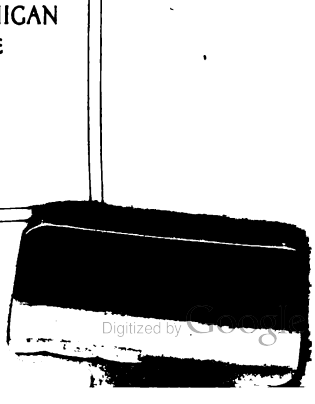

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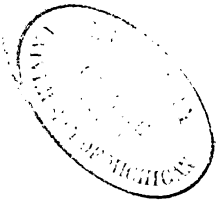

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

JULY 1806.

No. XVI.

ART. I. *Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries, and Navigation, with brief Notices of the Arts and Sciences connected with them; containing the Commercial Transactions of the British Empire and other Countries, from the earliest Accounts to the Meeting of the Union-Parliament in January* 1801, &c. &c. &c. By David Macpherson. 4 vol. 4to. Edinburgh, 1805. Mundell & Son, &c.

THERE are few books of reference, whose utility has been more generally acknowledged, than that of Anderson's History of Commerce; and perhaps, since its first appearance, there has not been a single writer on any tract of modern history, who has not been led to consult it, and to derive from it some part of his materials. The author, who, during forty years of a long life, had been employed in the service of the South-Sea Company, possessed the means of becoming intimately acquainted with the most complicated commercial concerns of the British empire during that period; and his private studies being naturally directed to the subjects of his daily occupation, he gradually collected the most extensive and valuable store of materials that books could furnish for the economical history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But this elaborate work extended only to the year 1760; for which reason it was thought adviseable, some years ago, to publish a second edition, with a continuation, the merits of which it is not necessary for us to discuss. We shall therefore only observe, that, by a constant adherence to this plan, the records of our commerce would have shortly become as voluminous as those of our Parliamentary proceedings, and that a trader of the nineteenth century, who should have been desirous of learning the history of his predecessors, must have sacrificed no small portion of his time and capital in the acquisition of such information.

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We therefore apprehend, that it was become very necessary to undertake a revision of the whole work; to prune whatever was redundant; to bring together, under the form of tables, much scattered information respecting the prices of commodities and the value of coins; to substitute, in some places, the language of our present political economy for the obsolete jargon of the old commercial system; and, above all, to reform the numerous errors in the ancient history, which had been apparently compiled from very incorrect translations, without any reference to original authorities. There are few editors, perhaps, who would not have been appalled by the labour of such a revision; yet it has been undertaken and completed by Mr Macpherson, to whom the learned world has been already indebted for a most valuable edition of Wyntoun's Chronicle, and for his Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History, and whose well-earned reputation for scrupulous fidelity cannot fail to excite a favourable prepossession in the mind of the reader.

The work, in its present form, consists of four large and closely printed quarto volumes, the first of which, comprehending the history of commerce from the earliest times to the discovery of America in 1492, is entirely written by the present editor. The second, with about one half of the third, comprising the interval between that period and the year 1760, is a republication of Mr Anderson's text, with the retrenchment of some superfluities, and the insertion of some omissions: and the remainder of the work, extending to the first meeting of the Union-Parliament, is composed by Mr Macpherson, principally from documents preserved in the various public offices, which he seems to have ransacked and scrutinized with such indefatigable patience as the most ardent zeal for the interests of commerce could alone inspire.

It must be obvious, that the analysis of such a history, if it were possible, would be wholly uninteresting; for who will read the abstract of a dictionary? It is true, that the successive articles of information are not disposed under the successive letters of the alphabet; but a strict chronological series, combined with abrupt geographical transitions, produces the same effect; and the separate facts are most effectually disjoined from those which precede or follow them. Here, therefore, is no unity of interest, no subordination of events, no room for delineations of character, nor for the artifices and ornaments of historical composition. The judgement, and even the taste of the writer, can only be evinced by his success in conveying information through the medium of the smallest possible number of words; not only when he is narrating facts, but also when he is discussing their authenticity, or that of their dates, or when he is examining the comparative exactness

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actness and credibility of the original authors, to whom he must refer his readers for a more ample elucidation of his statements, it is his duty to be concise, sententious, and even dry; because, however ready we may be to give up the reins of our imagination to those who are willing to amuse us by a connected harrative, we are impatient of any obstacle to the gratification of our accidental inquiries; and few men can bear a tedious answer to a short question. It therefore only remains for us to enable our readers, by means of a few extracts, to estimate the merit of Mr Macpherson's labours. With respect to Mr Anderson's original work, the opinion of the public is already settled.

As a first example of our author's manner, both in the text and notes, we will take his account of the great naval expedition of the Carthaginians, which he places about 500 years A. C.

'We learn from Strabo (L. iii. p. 265.) that the Phœnicians of Gadir (Cadiz) were the first who traded to the Cassiterides, and that they carefully concealed the route to them from all other navigators. It follows, of course, that these islands were unknown to the Carthaginians, for at least some time. The Carthaginians, vexed to see themselves outdone in any point of commercial knowledge or enterprize, desirous of sharing in the advantageous trade of the Cassiterides, and eager to discover the whole extent of the world, ordered two voyages of discovery to be undertaken at the same time. They seem to have known nothing of the situation of the country they wished to find, except that it was beyond the straits in the ocean: but as all islands, accessible to the antient navigators, must have been in sight of other lands, they concluded, that by exploring the coast of the ocean both northward and southward, it must certainly be discovered. Therefore, they ordered Himilco to direct his course northward from the straits, and Hanno to pursue the opposite course along the western shore of Africa. Both commanders executed their orders; and both published accounts of their discoveries. That of Himilco was extant in the fifth century, when some extracts of it were inserted in a geographical poem by Rufus Festus Avienus; from which we learn, that he arrived in less than four months at the islands of the Oestrymnides, (which were two days sail from the large sacred island inhabited by the *Hibernians*, near to which was the island of the *Albions*), where they found copious mines of tin and lead, and a high-spirited and commercial people, who used boats covered with leather. This description, though the position of the islands is described in a manner remarkably obscure, answers to no other country so well as our *British islands*; and it is extremely probable, that Himilco established a Carthaginian colony, and settled the first commercial intercourse between Britain and Carthage. *

'The

* Dionysius Periegetes (v. 563.), describes the islands of the Hesperides (which he seemingly places near to Britain) as 'the native country

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'The object of Hanno's voyage being to make diſcoveries, and eſtabliſh colonies on the weſt coaſt of Africa, 30,000 people embarked with him in 60 ſhips of 50 oars each. * On various parts of the coaſt he founded at leaſt ſeven towns, or trading ports, whereof the furtheſt, reckoned as many days courſe beyond the ſtraits as Carthage was within them, was on a ſmall iſland lying in a bay, to which he gave the name of Kerné (or Cerné), and apparently that which is now called Mogadore. † From Kerné, Hanno proceeded ſouthward along the coaſt

---

country of tin, inhabited by the wealthy ſons (or deſcendants) of the illuſtrious Iberians,' who were apparently the people deſcribed by Skylax and Avienus as living near Gadir, beſide the leſſer river Iberus, now Rio Tinto, in Andaluſia. From the ancient Iberians, Tacitus conjectures the Silures (the old inhabitants of South Wales) to be deſcended. (*Vit. Agric. c.* ii.) The chief iſland of the cluſter near the ſouth-weſt extremity of Britain, is called Sigdelis in Antonine's Maritime Itinerary, Silura by Solinus (*c.* 24.), Sillinæ by Sulpicius Severus (*L. ii.*), and is now called Silley. Avienus ſays, (*Ora maritima, v.* 113.), that the Tarteſians (ſo he calls the people of Gadir) were accuſtomed to trade to the Oeſtrymnides; and he then adds, that the huſbandmen or planters (*coloni*) and people of Carthage alſo went to them; which ſeems to infer the eſtabliſhment of a permanent colony. It appears extremely probable, that Heſperides, Oeſtrymnides, and Caſſiterides, are but different names of the ſame cluſter of iſlands, the chief one of which got the name of Silura, Silleni, or Silley, which name now comprehends the whole: and, if ſo, Avienus perfectly agrees with Strabo, who ſays, that the firſt voyages were made to theſe iſlands from Gadir.

* Of Hanno's voyage, we have only a Greek tranſlation, or rather abridgement. We may therefore ſuſpect the number of people to be erroneous, as it is not probable that ſo many would embark before the coaſt was explored, the ſtations for the new coloniſts choſen, and the plan of the emigration and ſettlement duly arranged.

† Polybius, who ſailed along the coaſt, deſcribes Kerné (*ap. Plin. L. vi. c.* 31.) as oppoſite to Mount Atlas, and about a mile from the main land; and with him Ptolemy nearly agrees, who plainly places Kerné north from the Fortunate Iſlands or Canaries. Theſe marks, and the conſideration, that the Carthaginians would probably not make as much *real* diſtance on an unknown as on a known coaſt, may almoſt fix the much conteſted poſition of Kerné, which can anſwer to no other place ſo well as the little iſland of Mogadore, the harbour of which is a ſmall bay between it and the coaſt of Morocco. It is wonderful, that men of learning, with the clear evidence of Polybius and Ptolemy, and ſome other antient authors before their eyes, ſhould let their fancy run ſo wild, as to take the conſiderable iſland of St Thomas, almoſt under the equinoctial line, or Madeira, alſo an iſland of ſome extent, and too far from the coaſt to be reached by the antient navigators, or even the vaſt

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coast inhabited by the negroes, for twenty-six days; during which, according to the computation of a day's course by Herodotus, he may have run 1820 miles, or 1300 as Skylax calculates the course. In his way, he discovered some islands, two days course from the Continent, called Gorillas by Hanno's interpreters, and, by later writers, Gorgadas, and apparently the same which have been also called the Hesperides, the Fortunate islands, and the Canaries, * being the only islands of any consequence visible from the main land of Africa.' p. 52, 53, 54.

As the subject of ancient commerce had hitherto been very superficially treated, Mr Macpherson is compelled, in almost every page of his first volume, to compare the reports of the ancient writers, obscured as they are by a vague and imperfect geography, with the more accurate relations of modern travellers, and thus to establish, one by one, the links of a chain of facts which it is not always possible to connect. Hence, we often find a single note, or a few sentences of text, which are evidently the result of long and painful research. Of this we might easily multiply instances from the remoter periods of the history; but we prefer the following quotations from the middle ages, because they possess a more popular interest, and afford a few authentic documents, derived from a source not often consulted, on topics to which modern historians are, very wisely, much more attentive than their predecessors. They occur under the year A. D. 500.

'The following particulars of the manners, manufactures, &c. of the inhabitants of the British islands beyond the limits of the Roman conquests, (to whom I have scarcely had an opportunity of paying any attention hitherto), are chiefly collected from the ancient biographers of the Saints, almost the only writers of the western world in the dark ages, and brought together as throwing some glimmering of light upon the small portion of arts, manufactures, trade, and navigation, existing in these remote regions about this time. †

'The Irish still retained the custom noted by Solinus, of adorning

vast island of Madagascar, on the *east* side of Africa, for Kerné, a small island of a few furlongs in circumference, on the *west* side of that Continent. But, unfortunately, men of great learning are sometimes very bad geographers. In the year 1765, the Emperor of Morocco appointed Mogadore to be the port for the foreign trade of his dominions.

* Some modern authors suppose the Bissago or Bissao islands, near the Rio-Grande, and others, the island of St Thomas, to be the Gorillas.

† Patric flourished from A. D. 432, the year of his mission, to 493; Brigit about 500; and Columba from 522 to 597. The lives here quoted were written very soon after their own time, and may be trusted in every thing but the miracles.

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their swords and daggers with the polished teeth of animals. (*Adamnani Vita Columbæ, MS. Bibl. Reg.* 8. *D. ix. L. iii. c.* 39.) The manufacture of swords and other weapons was, in very early times, practised in every part of the British islands.

'The luxury of riding in chariots was common in Britain and Ireland. (*Patricii Synod. can.* 9. *Cogitosi Vita Brigitæ, ap. Messingham, cc.* 6, 7, 11. *Adamn. L. i. c.* 99; *L. ii. c.* 43.)

'A common article of dress was a cloak or plaid, (peplum, pallium, sagum, adorned with a variety of colours, which was probably of home manufacture. (*Adamn. L. iii. c.* 1.) They had fine linen, which with other articles of sumptuous dress, may be presumed to have been imported. The bodies of the dead, at least those of eminent rank, were wrapped in fine linen. (*Patric. Synod. can.* 9. *Cogitos. c. ii. Adamn. L. iii. c.* 26.) Decency of dress was recommended to all, but particularly to clergymen and their *wives.* (*Patric. Synod. can.* 6.)

'In the churches and abbeys there were bells, which the pious and industrious abbots sometimes made with their own hands. (*Vita Gildæ*, quoted in *Usserii Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p.* 905. *Edit.* 1639. *Adamn. Lib. i. c. ii.; L. iii. c.* 23.)

'Water-mills were introduced in Britain by the Romans, as appears by the remains of a Roman mill lately discovered at Manchester, (*Whitaker's Hist. of Manch. p.* 315.); and, as they are frequently mentioned during the Saxon period, we may be assured, that an engine so very useful, and also of such simple construction, was never allowed to go out of use. About this time they were also used in Ireland. (*Cogitos. c.* 13.)

'Vessels made of glass, for drinking out of, were used, even in the extremity of Britain, by the northern Pichts;* but whether they were manufactured by themselves, or imported, we are not told. (*Adamn. Lib. ii. c.* 32.) We have reason to believe that the art of manufacturing glass was known to the southern Britons, before the invasion of the Romans.

'Ale was a common drink, and made at home. Wine was also used upon some occasions, and most probably imported. (*Cogitos. c.* 4.—*Adamn. L. ii. c.* 1.)

'The natives of Ireland, and the north-west coast of Britain, and the adjacent islands, caught salmon and other fish with nets, (*Adamn. L. ii. cc.* 17, 18. *L. iii. c.* 25.) But they knew nothing of the vast advantage to be derived from an extensive fishery, and only caught fish for their own use.

'Though

* It is proper to observe, that Cumin, who died in the year 699, and was the original writer of the life of Columba, has not a word of the story containing the notice of the drinking-glass. It is not known in what year Adamnan wrote his greatly enlarged copy of Cumin's life of Columba. The manufacture of glass was introduced among the English of Northumberland in the year 674.

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'Though the leather boats of the Britons chiefly attracted the attention of foreigners, as being unusual with them, we must not suppose they had no others. They certainly learned to build vessels of wood, while under the Roman dominion, if they had them not before. About this time, even in the remote Western Islands, they had long vessels built of oak planks; and they all carried at least one sail. Some of the vessels, covered with leather, were sufficient to go long voyages; at least as far as from Ireland to Orkney, and even to advance as far into the Northern Ocean as a run of fourteen days, with full sail before a south wind.* *(Adamn. L. i. c. 1. L. ii. cc. 42-45.)*

'I may here also observe, that instruments and trinkets made of gold, some of them of considerable weight, were by no means uncommon in Ireland, as appears from the great numbers of them found in various parts of the country, though they probably belong to ages prior to any authentic history.† As civilized nations do not carry the precious metals to countries in an inferior state of civilization, it seems more probable that the gold was found in mines, of which there are still some vestiges in Ireland, than that it was imported; though we should even suppose with Tacitus, (*Vita Agric. c.* 24.) that Ireland had a greater foreign trade than Britain.'—Vol. I. p. 223, 224.

Such notices concerning the manners of ancient nations, however short, are always interesting to those who wish to trace, in history, the progress of mankind towards improvement and civilization. For this reason, the following short extract, (from Vol. I. p. 391.) respecting the manners of the Italians, about A. D. 1238, may be worth copying.

'Their food was very moderate, or rather scanty. The common people had meat only three times in a week: their dinner was pot-herbs, boiled with meat; their supper, the cold meat left from dinner. The husband and wife ate out of the same dish; and they had but one or two cups in the house. They had no candles made of tallow or wax; but a torch, held by one of the children, or a servant, gave them light at supper. Many had no wine in the summer. Their wine-cellars were small; and their barns were not large. The men, whose chief pride was in

* It appears that some wrong-headed monks, either by stress of weather, or by design, (for the perfection of religion was supposed to consist in rendering themselves useless, by withdrawing from society) had actually sailed to Iceland, where they settled, it being most probably impossible for them to find their way back again; and their books, in the Irish language, bells, &c. were found there by the first colonists from Norway. (*Arii Schedæ de Islandia, c.* 2.)

† See *Archæologia Britann. V. ij. No.* 3. *V. iii. p.* 555. *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibern. No. xiii.* One gold fibula of ten ounces, (represented in Plate vi. No. 2.) was sold to a goldsmith, who informed Colonel Vallancey that he had melted down several of that form, one of which weighed sixteen ounces.

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their arms and horses, wore caps made with iron-shields, and cloaks made of leather, without any covering, or of woollen cloth without leather. The women wore jackets, of a stuff called *pignolate*, with gowns of linen; and their head-dresses were very simple. Very few people had any gold or silver on their clothes. Those who possessed a small sum of money were thought rich; and the homely dress of the women required but small marriage-portions. The nobles were proud of living in towers; and thence the cities were filled with those fortified dwellings. *Riccobaldi Ferrariensis, Hist. imper. ap. Muratori Script. V. 5. col.* 128.)'

We shall now add another extract, for the sake of its singularity. Every reader is acquainted with the numerous advantages derived to modern navigators from the invaluable invention of the mariner's compass; the want of which compelled the Phœnician, the Greek, and the early Italian navigators, to creep from headland to headland, without venturing to quit the shore, excepting when an island, so near as to be distinctly seen from the continent, offered them an equally secure retreat from the violence of an accidental tempest. Yet we know that the bolder Norwegians, though exposed to far greater perils from the habitual inclemency of a high northern latitude, and from the frequent cloudiness of their atmosphere, were in the habit of attempting, and often with success, a voyage of some length upon the ocean. It would be unjust to tax with temerity a spirit of enterprize which so often accomplished its object. We must therefore suppose that a patient observation of natural phenomena, attention to the flight of migratory birds, and to the direction of currents, and some few simple devices, which, being no longer necessary, are now forgotten, must have served as substitutes for the more valuable resources of modern navigation. One of these devices is recorded by Mr Macpherson in a note, vol. I. p. 261.

'Arngrim Jonas tells us, that when Flok, a famous Norwegian navigator, was going to set out from Shetland for Iceland, then called Gardarsholm, he took on board some crows, *because the mariner's compass was not yet in use.* When he thought he had made a considerable part of his way, he threw up one of his crows, which, seeing land astern, flew to it; whence Flok, concluding that he was nearer to Shetland (perhaps rather Faroe) than any other land, kept on his course for some time, and then sent out another crow, which, seeing no land at all, returned to the vessel. At last, having run the greatest part of his way, another crow was sent out by him, which, seeing land ahead, immediately flew for it; and Flok, following his guide, fell in with the east end of the island. Such was the simple mode of steering their course, practised by those bold navigators of the stormy northern ocean. The ancient natives of Taprobané (Ceylon) used the same expedient when skimming along the tranquil surface of the Indian Ocean.' *(Plinii Hist. Nat. Lib. vi. c. 22.)*

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We shall here take leave of the first volume; conceiving that the extracts already given are sufficiently ample to answer our purpose, by exhibiting a fair specimen of the author's manner. The third part, commencing with the accession of his present Majesty, and occupying 950 closely printed quarto pages, is, of course, far more interesting to the statesman, to the political economist, and even to the common reader; but as the facts which it contains are, in general, familiarly known, and are of necessity much compressed, very few of them would appear to advantage in the insulated state in which alone we could exhibit them. The following anecdote, however, (in vol. iv. p. 401.) is a striking exception to this remark; it is perfectly new to us; and we sincerely wish to give it all the publicity which it deserves.

'1797. The manufacturing interest of Great Britain sustained a very heavy, and (as it has since turned out) perhaps an irreparable loss, in the death of Mr Stephen Dolignou, the ingenious inventor of a highly improved kind of weaving machinery, adapted to the manufacture of all kinds of stuffs, from the coarsest to the finest, and from the narrowest to the broadest. The looms may be wrought by the power of wind, water, steam, weights, or animal strength; and they differ from all other weaving machinery in possessing (if I may be allowed the phrase) an instinctive capacity of knowing when any thread of the warp or weft is broken; in which case the loom, wherein such an accident has happened, ceases its motion, whilst the others, actuated by the same moving power, proceed in their work; thereby calling upon the person attending it to repair the damage; which being done, it immediately goes on as before. Six of these looms may with ease be attended by a girl of fifteen years of age, or by an infirm or aged person of either sex.

'This invention possesses the important advantage over most other species of machinery for the abridgement of labour, that the general use of it can give no alarm to the people engaged in the manual fabrication of the goods which may be made by it, if the art is laid open to the public; for a weaver, who has been accustomed to work upon one loom, may, as the expense of the machinery is moderate, easily set up six looms, to be wrought by weights or other moving power, and immediately furnish six times as much cloth at half the former price of weaving, and even three times as much as before. His increased profits may very soon enable him to set up six more, to be attended by his wife or his children; and so he may proceed till he is master of a great factory. Thus, the use of this machinery, instead of threatening them with loss of employment, may, in the very first instance, be a blessing, and a fund of wealth to the British operative weavers, who need only such assistance to counteract the enormous expense of living, to enable them to become the manufacturers for the whole world.

'This most useful invention, which crowns and completes what Arkwright's machinery began, would ere now have enabled the British manufacturer

nufacturer to bring cotton from its raw ſtate, as it drops from the weighing engine, to a finiſhed web fit for immediate uſe, all by the agency of quick and cheap-working machinery, had the inventor been ſpared to eſtabliſh his works on a ſcale ſufficiently extenſive. But it pleaſed God to take him off (February 7th, 1797) ſoon after he had brought his machinery to a ſtate of perfection ſatisfactory to himſelf. And this friend of mankind, who, if he had flouriſhed in antient times, would have been honoured with ſtatues and altars, and been ranked with Mercurius Triſmegiſtus, Minerva, Ceres, Melcartus, and other beneficent deities, now lies in a village church-yard (Benjes near Hertford), without an inſcription to record his merits, or even his name.'

A note in the ſame page conveys the following additional information.

'A relation, whom Mr Dolignou inſtructed, with a view to make him his partner and ſucceſſor in the buſineſs, underſtands the conſtruction and uſe of the machinery; and there are many young women, now diſperſed in ſervice or other employments, whom he taught to work on the looms. It is therefore not yet too late, for any who feel themſelves called upon by motives of patriotiſm, philanthropy, or intereſt, to act as the *guardians of British manufactures*, to produce beneficial and reputable employment to young women, or to improve their own fortunes by a moſt profitable branch of induſtry, to reſcue this orphan manufacture from annihilation, and to nurſe it up to maturity and ſtrength, with great benefit to themſelves, and incalculable advantages to the commerce, the wealth, and the power of Great Britain.'

We have already had occaſion to obſerve, that the editor of ſuch a work as the preſent has few opportunities of recommending himſelf to his reader, otherwiſe than by patient induſtry of reſearch, and by minute accuracy of ſtatement; and indeed Mr Macpherſon has, in general, moſt ſtudiouſly avoided any deviation from the ſtrict duty of the annaliſt, confining himſelf to a mere relation of facts, and leaving his readers to draw from them ſuch inferences as they may think fit. But as the complicated commercial accounts of nations are uſually ſtated, like the ſimple tranſactions of common merchants, in the technical language of bookkeeping, which, with great appearance of clearneſs in the ſeveral entries, is very apt to miſlead a novice in political arithmetic, the cautious editor is ſometimes compelled, though always with apparent reluctance, to detect and explain the various ſources of error. We ſhall quote an example from Vol. III. p. 341. on the ſubject of the cuſtomhouſe accounts of the year 1760.

'It has been cuſtomary to conſider our trade with thoſe countries, from which we import a greater value than we export to them, as unprofitable; and that with thoſe, to which our exports exceed the value of our imports, as profitable. But ſuch a rule is liable to a great number

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number of exceptions. The apparent balance must be frequently erroneous, from the inaccuracy of the valuation. For example, the Irish linens are all rated in the customhouse entries in England at 8d. a yard on an average; whereas, 1s. 4d. a yard, the average price assumed in the Irish customhouse books, is rather under the value. As linens generally constitute above a half of the value of the imports from Ireland to England and Scotland, the error in the value of that one article turns the balance of trade with Ireland against Great Britain: and the valuations in many other branches of our commerce are not a whit more accurate. Money brought into Great Britain is not subject to entry; and therefore does not appear in the customhouse books, any more than bills of exchange. Money carried out swells the amount of export entries, * and consequently enlarges the supposed general profit; though, according to the doctrine, that gold and silver are the only standard of wealth, such exportation is so much clear loss to the nation. Great quantities of goods, subject to high duties, totally prohibited, or shipped for exportation upon bounties or drawbacks, are clandestinely imported. Such importations, though not appearing in the general account, there is reason to believe, have considerable influence on the exchange with some neighbouring countries. † And such of those smuggled goods as have been entered for exportation, perhaps over and over again, thus make great additions to the fallacious estimate of the profitable balance, without ever being in reality exported at all for foreign consumption. All goods exported for the use of our armies abroad, are part of the national expenditure; and can no more constitute a real part of the profitable balance, apparently swelled by their exportation, than the goods taken from his stock by a manufacturer or shopkeeper for his own use, can be stated as enlarging his profitable sales. Cargoes entered outward, which are lost at sea, or taken by the enemy, swell the amount of exports, and consequently of supposed profit; whereas, in fact, they are a dead loss to the nation,

* Till the year 1765, the gold and silver carried abroad were entered in the customhouse books, as merchandize exported, under the title of foreign gold and bullion, (being 884,102*l.* 11s. 3d. for the year 1760), which, being foreign, must have been previously imported, though the customhouse takes no cognizance of the importation. In extracting the accounts for the years 1760—1764, I have omitted this article, which, as it stands in the exports, appears to swell the favourable balance; whereas it is, in fact, the necessary payment of an unfavourable balance. In time of peace, the bullion which is exported goes, mostly, to China.

† For example, can we suppose that England, this year, bought goods from France only to the amount of 37*l.*, in return for goods to the amount of 209,946*l.*? Or, that Scotland took not one article in return for tobacco, &c. amounting to 341,871*l.*, seeing that the commerce in tobacco was tolerated on both sides?

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tion, (and, in case of capture, tend to enrich the enemy by whom they are in reality exported), while the want of the homeward cargo, which should have been imported in return, and which to the individual sufferer, is not only a real loss, but a heavy disappointment and derangement of his plans of trade, tends to enlarge the supposed balance of trade in our favour. And the loss or capture of homeward-bound ships, in the same manner, by diminishing the amount of entered imports, fallaciously adds to the apparent favourable balance.

'On the other hand, there are branches of trade which would be ruinous, if the imports did not exceed the exports, or, in other words, if the balance were not *unfavourable*, according to this standard of estimation. Such is the trade with all our West India settlements, which have been formed and supported by British capitals, and in a great measure owned by proprietors residing in Great Britain. Therefore, the outward cargoes are to be considered as the stock employed in the culture of the plantations; and the homeward cargoes are in fact the proceeds of that culture, the excess of which is not a loss to the nation, but the real amount of the nett profits coming into the pockets of the proprietors, and giving a very comfortable demonstration how much the amount of the product is more than the prime cost. In other words, the outward cargoes are the *seed*, and the inward cargoes are the *harvest*. Neither is the balance, stated as due to the islands, remitted to them to increase their stock of circulating money. A part of it is paid, as interest or discharge of debts, to capitalists at home, to whom many of the plantations are deeply mortgaged. Another part (and, I hope, the largest) rests with the proprietors, of whom a very considerable number are merchants residing in Great Britain, and many of the others also reside in England, living on the balance of their plantation produce, which, if not entirely exhausted in their expenditure, is laid out in purchases at home, or in improving the West India plantations, and thus, in either way, adding to, and by no means deducting from, the national opulence.

'The same reasoning will also hold good with the trade to Hudson's Bay, and several others, wherein the excess of the imports is the real profit, and a continuation of *favourable* balances would in a few years ruin the trade. In some branches of business, the goods exported are merely the charges of trade, as is the case in all fisheries. For example, if a large sum appeared as the amount of goods carried to Greenland, and none at all brought from it, it is evident that the apparent favourable balance is a dead loss, and that the adventurers, besides the goods shipped, and entered as exported, lose also the wages and provisions of the seamen, and the wear and tear of their ships; whereas, in such trades, the excess of the imports above the exports (or, if any body pleases to call it so, the unfavourable balance) shows the amount of the national gain.

'There is another kind of deceptive inference to be drawn from the custombouse entries, if not duly guarded against. It is necessary to advert,

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advert; that the exports to some countries constitute the prime cost of cargoes to be shipped off from them to a third country. Thus, the wines of Madeira are sent to the British settlements in the East and West Indies; and, even if intended for Britain, are often carried by the circuitous route of those distant regions before they are brought home. The bulk of the cargoes from Africa, consists of the miserable natives, who are sold in the West Indies; and the proceeds are generally remitted to Great Britain in bills of exchange which do not appear at all in the customhouse books; and, in like manner, most of the cargoes carried from Newfoundland and the adjacent countries, consist of fish which never come to Great Britain, but are sold in Spain, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic countries, and their proceeds also brought home in bills of exchange.

'Were we to estimate the prosperity of a country merely from the balance of trade in the customhouse books, Scotland must be pronounced to be in a ruinous state, ever since the American war; the imports from foreign countries being generally more than the exports to them; as will appear by the accounts to be found in the subsequent parts of this work. But the truth is, that, since that event, the people of Scotland have paid more attention than formerly to manufactures, which (by land-carriage and coasting navigation, neither of which appear in the customhouse books) are carried to every part of Great Britain, and enter to a much larger amount into the exports of London than into those of Glasgow: and that, upon the whole, the trade of Scotland is now more flourishing than ever.

'From what has been said it will appear, that all arguments, calculations, or arrangements, founded upon the supposed balance of trade, are very fallacious; and that those founded upon the balance with any particular country are generally much more fallacious than those deduced from the general balance of the whole foreign trade of the nation.'

Our limits will not permit us to enter any further into a description of this part of the work, because the variety of its contents is almost infinite. We find in vol. iv. p. 525 *et seqq.* a review of the whole of our manufactures, as carried on in the year 1800; and, in p. 537, a specification of *all* the principal articles of merchandize which actually composed the trade of Great Britain, in that year, with all parts of the world, extracted from the proper books in the customhouse; besides which, separate notices and anecdotes, relating to the progress of every branch of human industry, occur perpetually. '*Quicquid agunt homines*' may fairly be considered as the subject of our author's repertory. We shall therefore now hasten to take notice of the appendix, reserving our general remarks for the conclusion of the work.

This appendix consists of four pieces, of which the first is a table divided into twelve columns, and presenting, at one open-

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ing of the book, the chronology of the principal sovereigns of Europe, from the year 800 to the present time.

Nos. 2. & 3. are auxiliary tables, to assist us in calculating the depreciation of money from the Conquest to the year 1800; No. 2. expressing the quantity of fine silver contained in the pound Sterling at different periods, both in England and in Scotland; and No. 3. being a chronological table of the price of coin and of various other articles, the authority for each being annexed to the prices quoted.

This table is, beyond comparison, the fullest that we remember to have seen; and, by pointing out the sources from which all its elements are derived, and thus enabling us to discover any error into which the copyist might inadvertently have fallen, is rendered doubly valuable. Yet we must doubt whether, as the author supposes, 'by a comparison of these two tables, the real value of money, through all the stages of its diminution and depreciation, may be ascertained with tolerable accuracy,' if we suppose, as he does, that the increase of taxes, in many articles, now constitutes the greatest part of the price. For example, if we take an average of the price of wheat, during the four years 1771, 2, 3, 4, and compare it with a similar average of the years 1796, 7, 8, 9, it will appear that wheat had risen, during the interval, only in the proportion of 100 to 124 nearly; yet, such was the progress of taxation during this period, that we should perhaps be nearer the truth in supposing that the general expense of living had nearly doubled. The price of grain is, however, the best single standard to which we can appeal as a measure of the depreciation of money, though it should seem that the progress of the national debt must enter as an important element into the calculation of the money-price of commodities of all kinds; both because the large portions of the national capital lent to government in time of war, and spent as income, must produce the same effect as a similar augmentation of bullion; and because the taxes raised to pay the interest, though some may operate as a stimulus to industry or to invention, and thus diminish instead of raising the price of particular articles, whilst others may fall for a time on the grower instead of the consumer, must ultimately raise the price of the taxed commodities, and thence gradually spread to those which are untaxed. We therefore conceive that a short table, exhibiting at one view the successive augmentations of the public debt, might have been useful in this place for many purposes of reference.

The fourth number of the Appendix is entitled 'a commercial and manufactural gazetteer of the united kingdom of Great Britain

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tain and Ireland, occupying 53 closely printed pages in double column. A geographical sketch of a somewhat similar nature, but far less ably executed, is added, if our recollection do not deceive us, to the Dictionnaire de Commerce of M. Savary; but we do not remember to have seen any compilation of equal interest with the present, which seems to contain the latest, as well as the most correct description extant of all the manufacturing towns in the united kingdom. We shall here subjoin two extracts from this gazetteer, which adds very considerably to the utility of the work.

'Carron-works (*Stirlingshire, Scotland.*)—The greatest iron-works in Europe, conducted by the greatest company ever associated for carrying on a manufacture. For giving motion to the machinery of this vast establishment, the company have the command of the whole force of the river Carron, which also brings their ore, coals, and other materials up to the works, and carries off the manufactured goods without any cartage. Cannon are cast solid, and bored by drills turned by the river; and not only the British Government, but every power in Europe has been supplied with them. There is also a short kind of cannon, of a proportion between a great gun and a howitzer, invented in the year 1752, at the fort on Cove Island, in the harbour of Cork, by General Melville, first made here in 1779 by Mr Gascoigne, director of the works, and now well known over all the world by the name of carronades. Pipes, cylinders, boilers for sugar-works; ballast for ships; stove-grates, which are now in almost every apartment of the British dominions where coal is burned; and, in general, every article that can be made of cast iron, are made in great perfection at these works. There are also forges for making anchors of all sizes, anvils, and other heavy articles; machinery for making malleable iron and plating iron. Above 140 tons of coal are expended every day, and about 1000 men are employed in time of peace, but a much greater number in war. In the neighbourhood there is a large manufacture of nails; and several others, on smaller scales.'

'Fulneck (*York, W. R.*), a village inhabited entirely by Moravians, stands in a most romantic situation, on a sloping bank facing the sun, at the bottom of which there runs a pretty stream. The space between the houses and the brook is a continued garden, with cloth-tenters interspersed. There is in the village a very elegant building, containing a chapel and school-house, with lodging for the scholars. There are also two very singular institutions, almost resembling a monastery and a nunnery, called *the young mens' economy*, and *the young womens' economy*. No strangers of the other sex are admitted into either house; but the inhabitants may come out to converse with their friends. They follow any business they choose, and may change their way of life when they please. The women are about sixty in number, mostly employed in embroidery and tambouring; and they all sleep in

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in one large room. The men, who are about fifty, also sleep all in one room. There is also a house in which all the widows live together.'

The whole work is terminated by a general chronological index of 92 pages.

For the reasons which we have already stated, we shall abstain from making any remarks on the style and language of this book, which, though plain and unadorned, are, in general, remarkably perspicuous. But we must point out to Mr Macpherson one passage, in which the expression appears to us very awkward, and which, though not mentioned in the table of *errata*, has apparently been perverted by some mistake of the printer. It is in Vol. III. p. 355., where it is stated, that 'if a ship has sailed from any given point, where the sun was *in the zenith (or in his meridional altitude)*, and, next day, when the sun *is in the zenith*, it is found by a watch which goes perfectly true, that it is four minutes after twelve, the ship has made one degree of difference of longitude to the westward,' &c. It certainly was not intended to restrict the proposition to tropical climates, where only the meridional sun can be in the zenith; so that the words '*on the meridian*' ought probably to be substituted for both the phrases marked in italics.

We must also express our disapprobation of the uncouth mode of spelling many common words. Why substitute there*for* for there*fore*, later for lat*ter*, tun for ton? To establish a *rational* orthography in English, is apparently quite impossible; but it is easy to adopt that which is now fixed by custom; and no man can depart from it with impunity.

We have said that, in compiling these volumes, which were intended as a repertory of facts, the author has cautiously abstained from all matters of theory, reserving (perhaps) his observations and opinions for some future publication. But there is one opinion, or rather sentiment, which seems always present in his heart and mind, and which, at almost every page, drops spontaneously from his pen. This is a detestation of war, the parent of crimes and of calamities; a rooted dislike of all its instruments and agents; and a veneration for the peaceful benefactors of mankind, the Wedgewoods, the Arkwrights, the Watts, the Brindleys, &c. to whom he would willingly transfer those triumphs and dignities which are so frequently and so perversely bestowed on the sanguinary sons of ambition. Perhaps praise and blame might be more justly distributed by an assembly of calm philosophers, than they now are by the giddy multitude; yet this multitude might possibly allege with some truth, in justification of its awards, that the ingenuity of the artist, and the skilful enterprize of the merchant, or even of the agriculturist, are

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are best recompensed by a communication of the wealth and prosperity which they have contributed to disseminate; and that honour, the prize for which life is daily ventured, is naturally the exclusive and appropriate reward of hardy intrepidity. It is true, that this quality may be sometimes coupled with the most odious vices,—with paltry cunning, with selfish ambition, and with malignant ferocity; and men thus endowed, and armed with power, may ravage the universe like a pestilence! yet to this desolating spirit may be opposed a saviour spirit of still higher power, so long as such a spirit shall be justly valued, so long as the rewards of enthusiastic heroism shall not be bestowed on inventive ingenuity. These, and many similar arguments might be urged in exculpation of the vulgar feelings of mankind on this subject, and might, perhaps, deserve consideration. But, be this as it may, we are very far from meaning to reprobate the favourite opinion of our venerable author, which, besides that we believe it to flow from the genuine benevolence of his heart, must evidently have formed his principal inducement to undertake, and his chief encouragement to persevere in a task, the completion of which required much severe labour, and has consumed many years of a useful life. No literary work, we believe, can be well performed, which is not performed with some degree of conscious satisfaction; and, as few things are less alluring in themselves than arithmetical calculations and commercial documents, we are persuaded that no motive but a firm conviction of the importance and moral utility of his undertaking could have induced the learned editor of Wyntoun to compile the Annals of Commerce.

Upon the whole, we have no hesitation in saying, that Mr Macpherson has, in our opinion, performed all that could be expected from an individual, and perhaps more than the public had a right to expect from him; because it is scarcely possible that his readers should be capable of appreciating the extent of his toil, with which therefore the increase of his reputation is not likely to be commensurate. Numberless passages of the antient historians, like certain problems in algebra, are susceptible of an indefinite number of solutions; and on such occasions, it would be absurd to say, that he has never laid himself open to criticism, even fair criticism,—or that he has never deceived himself: but the internal evidence of every page convinces us, that he never means to deceive his reader. In our notice of his work, we have endeavoured to be as concise as possible, because the praise of a critic is often suspicious; and censure, we are afraid would, in this instance, be useless, since it is highly improbable that the author should ever attempt the Herculean task of revising

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ing a second edition of such an enormous mass of materials, even on the supposition that his attention should not be called off, during the interval, to some newer object of inquiry.

ART. II. *Travels after the Peace of Amiens, through Parts of France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.* By J. G. Lemaistre, Esq. 3 vol. 8vo. pp. 1225. London, Johnson. 1806.

MR LEMAISTRE seems, as far as we can discern, to be one of the great multitude of English idlers whom every suspension of hostilities pours over the face of the Continent, and who fortunately return, for the most part with as little inclination as talent, to become writers of travels. The interest excited by his adventures, is nearly such as might be expected from the domestic narratives of these worthy gentlemen. His route is, of all others, the most beaten, being an integral portion of the grand tour of Europe. His movements were confined to the highway and the more easy parts thereof, by the company of his wife. His intercourse with the natives was limited by the rapidity of his movements, and his entire ignorance of the languages. His general remarks approach to the excellence of those which not unfrequently are heard to drop from country gentlemen. And the species of information which he collects, may be with certainty found among the manuscripts of any given traveller, capable of committing his observations on manners and cities, to the paper of his pocket-book. Were it not, indeed, for the small number of these repositories which ever see the light, we should have found the task of penetrating through these volumes altogether intolerable. The genuine anglicism of the chief objects of attention, eating, drinking, paying, quarrelling with drivers, innkeepers, and foreign customs, would have been ill repaid by the few scattered notices of more important matters which now and then forced themselves on the traveller's view; the omission of almost every thing which one could have wished to see described, would have been hardly compensated by the minute insertion of almost all that one could have spared; and the singular disqualification of the author, in all the great requisites of a traveller, would have been poorly counterbalanced by his various opportunities of procuring information. But while countries are changing their governments, their political relations, their boundaries, their manners, their very names and physical appearances, with a rapidity happily unknown in former times, the last meagre account that can be procured of them, is in some respects preferable to the fullest and

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and most ingenious works of an earlier date: and we have generally remarked, that though the labour of toiling through modern books of travels is seldom repaid by the detached scraps of information which they contain; yet this toil, when undergone by one, cannot fail to be of general utility, by saving other readers the bulk of the task, and extracting for their use the little that those works present. This consideration must form, at once, our reward for the ungrateful labour to which we have submitted, and our apology for troubling our readers with an account of Mr Lemaistre's three volumes.

It is not easy to imagine a more dull and insipid series of letters than this honest gentleman has managed to indite upon Switzerland and Italy. What he tells of one stage, he almost invariably repeats of every other. His adventures consist of now a shower of rain—now a late arrival; his views are sometimes a mountain, sometimes a valley; his calamities are always a bad dinner, or a dear bill, or a sulky landlord, and a lazy postillion; things, we readily admit, most interesting in themselves, and highly fit to occupy a man's serious attention, as indeed they never fail to do, whether we permit them or not; but exceedingly apt to be undervalued by those who merely read the history of his journeyings. Then, upon every occasion, Mrs Lemaistre is afraid; whether the day is good or bad,—by moonlight and in the dark,—on precipices or in plains,—by land and by water,—this lady's fears are perennial. Not that we by any means doubt the fact, or are at all inclined to blame a husband for being anxious about his wife; but we conceive that printed books have little to do with such touching and domestic points, and that they might all have safely been left out, and supplied by the reader's imagination.

If, however, we are somewhat out of humour with Mr Lemaistre's manner of telling his tale, and getting together his materials, we are rather worse off when he stops, as he has an unlucky habit of doing, to reflect and 'meditate the passing scene.' There is not, we believe, within the four corners of his book, a position which the hardiest sceptic could find a moment's hesitation in admitting. He has no mercy on common topics, of unquestionable and most notorious truth. He drives you to absolute distraction by his sensible and utterly irrefragable observations. You are perpetually stunned, not with the novelty, but certainly with the solid content of his remark. He equals, in this species of cruelty, a whole country squire and his maiden sister. In fact, the evil which haunts one through the whole book, is a hopeless and unvaried mediocrity, for which there is never any cure, and no palliative but resignation. We begin our extracts

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with a few specimens of this vein of reflection, which pervades Mr Lemaistre's writings. They will serve as an excuse for confining our future attention to his descriptions, and are taken almost at random.

Victor Amadeus erected a church on the expulsion of the French, by Prince Eugene, from Piedmont. One might have hoped to view this building at peace from all moral reflections, and only annoyed by the monuments and vestry anecdotes which haunt all such places. But Mr Lemaistre has decreed otherwise. 'In recollecting,' says he, 'this circumstance, in viewing this splendid monument of a past triumph over the French, one's pity for the present vanquished state of the Piedmontese and their deposed sovereign, naturally increases, and the mind is forcibly recalled to the strange mutability of human affairs.' (I. 182.) Again, talking of the natives of Turin, he remarks, 'that they have no industry, because they have no commerce, and consequently no spirit or activity.' And after noticing their excessive bigotry, and constant attendance at mass, he judiciously warns us not to suppose that, on this account, they are proportionably virtuous; and all this, as if we had not to wade through such information as the following, in the very same pages. 'Our journey from Turin to the Supurga, occupied nearly two hours; but on our return, being on a descent, we performed the same distance in half that time.'—'We went to hear mass, being Sunday: the music did not answer the expectations which we had formed.'—'In visiting, for the second time, the chapel of St Suaire, I was much pleased with the marble rotundo, which is certainly beautiful.'—'In returning, we were much surprised at perceiving the immense crowd which filled the road from Turin to the Valentin. It was, indeed, so full of passengers, that it reminded me of Hyde Park on a Sunday. I also counted five or six good carriages,' &c. &c.

The subject of invasion affords matter of harangue more than once. It was the apprehension of this event that forced our author home. Little does he 'believe such an attempt likely to be made; but who could bear to be absent for an instant, while our common country is menaced?' (II. 250—419.) But the whole force of Mr Lemaistre's genius is called forth by the ancient and established topic of death. In order to indulge upon this point, he properly visits the capuchin convent at Vienna, where the Royal family are buried; and their tombs 'are calculated to create reflections, at once awful and instrucive.' We should ill discharge the duty we owe to our readers, were we not to give them the benefit of those 'awful and instructive' observations. The subject is highly important; it relates to a matter of universal

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sal concernment. Every man is equally interested in it; for it is proved, by undoubted and contant experiment, that death sooner or later happens to all: Wherefore, Mr Lemaistre has given vent to his mind in the following 'awful' passage.

'Sovereigns, heroes, and conquerors, who formerly filled the most distinguished parts on the great theatre of public life, stripped of the ensigns of power, of glory, and of triumph, are, in this mansion of death, ranged side by side, with undiscriminating regularity; and, no longer animated by an ambition that once spurned at the limits of the world, are here enclosed within the narrow compass of a tomb; while their once revered persons, rapidly mouldering into decay, are now but hideous and offensive masses of corruption! Such is the lot of humanity! from which inevitable doom, neither the splendour of rank, the charms of beauty, the applauses of fame, nor the dignity of virtue, can for an hour save the proudest, the fairest, the greatest, or the best of human kind.' (II. 265.)

It is, indeed, the character of our author's reflections, in general, as in this instance, to be at least as awful as they are instructive. It is not indeed in every page that we are scared by any thing like the preceding spectacle; yet we acknowledge, that his remarks on the death of the Queen of France (the rock on which so many reflecting minds have lately split, *vide* our Review of Hunter's Travels), are sufficiently dreadful; and even, as he himself is pleased to term them, 'melancholy.'

'The Empress, and the ladies belonging to her *suite*, wore a profusion of diamonds. The splendour of these ornaments, the lovely forms and costly dresses of the women, the solemn pace and singular costume of the religious communities, the respectable and striking appearance of the military, the crowds of persons who filled every window, and the dignity of the illustrious persons who appeared as the principal actors in this scene, presented altogether a *spectacle* of vast and uncommon grandeur.

'Beautiful, however, as was this scene, from a concatenation of circumstances it excited some melancholy reflections in my mind. Thirteen years had elapsed since, for the first and only time before, I had seen the ceremony of the *Corpus Christi*. On that occasion, the lovely Marie Antoinette shone like a superior star; and as she walked through the streets of Paris, and astonished all beholders with the charms of her person and the dignity of her manner, every voice seemed ready to exclaim,

"Et vera incessu patuit Dea."

Who then imagined, though this beautiful Queen had already experienced some revolutionary insults, that she was doomed to witness the murder of her royal husband; to languish on the straw bed of a disgraceful prison; to be accused of crimes at which nature revolts; and to be carried in a cart, to end her days on a scaffold, like the lowest and basest of her sex?—The virtuous and ill-fated Louis

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walked by her side, at the solemnity to which I allude; and, as he moved along, was greeted on every side with the endearing title of "Father," and "Regenerator of his people," and welcomed with the acclamations of that nation who, two short years afterwards, condemned him to the death of a felon!' (II. 334, 335.)

And so he runs on for a couple of pages more; demonstrating that Kings are in modern times subject to vicissitudes; declaiming against fortune for her mutability; thundering out his proofs, that no degree of virtue can secure men from adversity; triumphantly demanding, who shall say that the armies of the Emperor may not one day be overthrown; indignantly daring all the world to disprove his arguments drawn from Louis XVI.'s fate; and defying any man living to say, after him, that he is secure from the strokes of fate. (See p. 336.) These notable passages are, as our readers will perceive, in the very purest style of the solid and ingenious Mr William Hunter above alluded to.

Such is the general turn of Mr Lemaistre's morality, whom we are now hastily to attend upon his travels. He left Paris, where he had resided long enough to write his 'Rough Sketch' of that capital, published some years ago, and took the road to Geneva, where he resided some weeks. He, of course, visited Ferney, and has given the only account of that interesting spot that has been published since the Revolution.

'I proceed to speak of my visit to Ferney. I attended a party of English friends to that far-famed place a few days since. Ferney is situated in a beautiful country, about seven or eight miles from Geneva. The town, which owed its prosperity to Voltaire, and was principally built by him, is still inhabited, and several of the houses are of a good construction. On approaching the "château," or country-seat, which stands above the town, commanding a very extensive view of Mont Blanc, the lake of Leman, and the adjoining country (every spot of which is distinguished by some particular beauty), we perceived that there were persons assembled in the church. This church, as every body knows, was erected by Voltaire. A priest was officiating at the altar, who (so I was afterwards informed) was *curé*, or rector, in the time of the philosopher. His name is Huguné; and, after a ten years' exile, he is lately returned to perform the duties of his profession, in the very spot where it is supposed that the abolition of religion was first planned. You will easily conceive with what curiosity we viewed a place and a ceremony rendered so very singular by the number of concurring circumstances.

'The château now belongs to M. B., from whose family Voltaire bought the estate. After his death, Madame Denys possessed it for a few years. Then succeeded the Marquis de la Villette, who, after disposing of several detached pieces, at last sold back the whole which remained, to the representative of the original proprietor, the present possessor.

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feſſor. This gentleman received us with great politeneſs; and himſelf ſhowed us theg rounds.

'I am happy to add, that the apartment of Voltaire ſtill continues exactly in the ſtate in which he occupied it. To ſatisfy your curioſity, I have copied a liſt of the pictures and inſcriptions which it contains. In his bedchamber, on the wall, is written—

"Mes mânes ſont conſolés, puiſque mon cœur
Eſt au milieu de vous."

'Under this inſcription ſtood formerly a black china vaſe, containing the heart of the philoſopher; and under the vaſe was written—

"Son eſprit eſt partout, et ſon cœur eſt ici."

His heart has ſince been removed, and is now placed in the Pantheon of Paris.

'On the right of this mouument is the picture of a beautiful young woman, who is called "La Couturière;" a print of Pope Clement XIV.; and the portrait of a lad who was his "rameur," or boatman. On the left, a likeneſs of Catharine II., worked on ſilk, and which is ſaid to be the performance of the Empreſs. This muſt be a miſtake, as above it is written—

"La Salle inven. et fecit."

Underneath are theſe words—

"Preſenté à monſieur Voltaire par l'auteur."

'On the right of the bed, which is ornamented with yellow ſilk curtains, is an excellent likeneſs of Frederic II. of Pruſſia: on the left, a drawing of Voltaire, taken at the age of forty.

'On the wall againſt which the bedſtead is placed, and within the curtains, is a large print of Le Kain, the celebrated tragic actor, encircled with laurel. Near the fire-place is a likeneſs of Madame la Marquiſe de Chatelet.

'On the right of the window, prints of the following perſons are ſuſpended—the family of Calas, Diderot, Iſaac Newton, Benjamin Franklin, Pierre Corneille, J. D. d'Alembert, and John Milton. Theſe were placed by Voltaire; to which has been added, a ſmall print of J. Delille, with this citation, written with a pen—"Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili;" and a large one of George Waſhington.

'On the left ſide of the window, are engravings of the following—Etienne François duc de Choiſeul d'Amboiſe, Antoine Thomas, George Guillaume Leibnitz, Jean Jacques d'Artons de Marain, J. d'Alembert, Jean Racine, F. F. Marmontel, and C. E. Helvetius.

'Near theſe alſo appears a print, intended as a deſign for a tomb, and made under his own directions, with this epitaph—

"Dans ce triſte et fatal tombeau
Repoſe l'ombre de Voltaire.
Pleurez, beaux arts—vous ne verrez plus de père:
Et l'univers a perdu ſon flambeau." (I. 35—38.)

From Geneva Mr Lemaistre made a tour in the Glaciers of Savoy; and, with his usual felicity in that particular, met with

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the most agreeable companions which it was possible to wish for. However, their discoveries are scantily detailed; the only notable occurrence which we have met with in this part of the work, being the singular accident of our traveller's finding the two Albinos, formerly exhibited in the Haymarket, comfortably settled in the valley of Chamouni, and living on the money they made in London. The tour through the Glaciers of Savoy, is succeeded by a tour through Switzerland, which is exhibited in the form of a diary. We did not before conceive it possible for the witlessness of man to have made such a subject so uninteresting. Accustomed as we had been to the Karamsins and Kotzebues of the day, and not altogether unacquainted with the great master of modern travel-writing, Mr W. Hunter, we had still thought, that to render the actual journal of any given man traversing all the Swiss Cantons quite insipid, exceeded the powers of human dulness. How greatly we were mistaken, the following specimen of Mr Lemaistre's Swiss tour may show. It is matched in every page of this part of his book.

'We spent the rest of the morning in wandering over the town, which is uncommonly neat and pretty in every part. We dined at an early hour, and proceeded afterwards on our road to Thun, which is distant about eighteen miles from Berne.

'We arrived at the former of these places at seven in the evening, after a delightful journey. The road was excellent, and the views more than commonly beautiful. A cultivated and well-wooded valley, filled with pretty villages, was the country through which we travelled; and the towering Alps finished the landscape.

'Tuesday, Sept. 7.—We left our carriage to await our return at *Le Freyhoff*, the little inn of Thun, and got into a boat covered with oiled skin and rowed by three men, at a little before nine o'clock this morning. After rowing for a short distance on the river Aar, we found ourselves on the lake of Thun; one bank of which presents majestic mountains (particularly Le Niese and Le Stockhorne); and the other, fine woods and rich vineyards. As we moved along on this wide and beautiful piece of water, we remarked Le Château de Oberhoffen, where formerly resided a bailiff of Berne, and near it a gentleman's seat, belonging to M. de Vatevell. Under the Niese I perceived, in a sweet situation, a white little church, which seemed as if it had been an object placed there on purpose to increase the beauty of the landscape. Further on, on the same side, we observed the castle and church of Spietz, belonging formerly to the Barons of Boutenbourg, and at present to the antient family of D'Erlach of Berne.

'On the other bank, we noticed a curious old wooden house, with the horns of a deer suspended as a sign before it. The next objects which attracted our attention, were the house and village of Meerlingen. The former of these is exactly midway between the extremities

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nities of the lake. The inhabitants of the village are considered, according to the prejudices of the country, as idiots; but M. Richart (whose travelling book I had with me) says, that there is not the least truth in the report.—On a height above, stands a village church in a most romantic position.

'We now approached a kind of bay. On the left were fir trees growing out of the rock; and on the right, fine woods, planted at the foot of the mighty mountains which stand above. After turning round the rock, which here projects, we perceived Neuhaus (or the new house), near which persons sometimes land, and take a direct path to Utersee. On the right, close on the lake, a pretty little village, called Leisegal, demanded our attention; and, on the other side, a cascade falling from a vast eminence; and above, a church built in the centre of the rock, which is itself covered with trees.' I. 99, 100, 101.

As a compensation for the above extract, we shall present our readers with what we think by much the best passage in Mr Lemaistre's whole work, in which he gives a sketch of Switzerland and the Swiss. It is sufficiently correct, and not deficient in spirit.

'The beauties of Switzerland are so various; there is such an extraordinary combination of the grand and mild features of Nature—of the sublime and lovely—of wild and cultivated scenery; that it is almost impossible to conceive, unwitnessed, the satisfaction which one enjoys in travelling through this delightful country. Here, towering Alps, mountains of ice, extensive lakes, and loud-sounding cataracts: there, cornfields, vineyards, pleasure-grounds, lofty trees, plains of unequalled verdure, level roads, and smiling villages. In one canton, all the pomp and ceremony of the church of Rome, accompanied very generally by dirt, idleness, and comparative indigence: in another, the unadorned worship of the Supreme Being in simple rustic meeting-houses filled with congregations of orderly, well-dressed, and well-looking peasantry. The variety of religion is not more remarkable than the variety of *costume:* every canton has its distinguishing habit; and while each differs from the other, all of them have a character peculiar to this country, and totally unlike the dresses of any other nation in modern Europe. Many of the female fashions are very becoming; and I have seen some girls, so accoutred, who would have excited the praises of admiration even in London or in Paris. In some parts of Switzerland, the women wear large straw hats, ornamented with roses and wild flowers: in others, black beavers, with gold bands. Their hair is sometimes folded in tresses round their heads; sometimes enclosed in plaits, which are so long as to reach their feet; and sometimes covered by a black lace cap of singular shape. Their jackets are of different forms and different colours. A short petticoat here discovers a red stocking, with a wooden slipper; and there, a white one, with a black leather sandal of peculiar form. In short, the eccentricities of dress are innumerable: and in travelling in this country, a man may easily imagine himself at a masquerade.

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'The appearance of the people, with some exceptions, is respectable. There seems still to reign much comfort, independence, and general ease.

'The houses in most of the villages are of wood, and are frequently built without chimneys,—the smoke being allowed to make its way through the windows. This is an inconvenience not arising from poverty; for many of the houses so constructed belong to persons in affluent circumstances, and contain rooms of some extent; but occasioned by the prevalence of long usage, which has not yet yielded to the improvements of the present day.

'The Swiss are a tall, athletic, hardy race of men: civil, reserved, and cautious in all their proceedings; much attached to their own country and customs; zealous advocates of rational freedom; inclined to military exertion; and entertaining a violent antipathy to their neighbours and oppressors, the French nation. Having given them this character, it is almost needless for me to add, that, if France wishes to sink the name of Switzerland into that of a department of the republic "one and indivisible," she can only succeed in her object by superior force: voluntarily this brave people will never become the vassal of that or any other country whatever.' p. 146, 147, 148.

This general description is true; and it is our conviction of its truth, that chiefly excites our astonishment at finding the author's details of his tour in such a country so perfectly uninteresting.

From Switzerland Mr Lemaistre proceeded across the Alps to Turin. He is now fairly got into that delightful region, which so many famous travellers have described, and yet left almost every thing to be learnt by their successors,—which so many conquerors have pillaged, and yet left possessed of wonders, even among the works of art, sufficient to make those who now see it for the first time imagine that it never contained more. We admit, that little is added to our former pictures of this country, by the dry journals and catalogues of which these volumes are made up. But it is always pleasing to dwell on such a subject. Nothing written concerning it can greatly fatigue us; and this is something when we have to do with a traveller like Mr Lemaistre. Before proceeding to notice what he has done upon this subject, we shall briefly mention what we think it deserves, if properly treated. Much of the knowledge chiefly wanted upon Italy, would present itself to an intelligent and industrious traveller, who went resolved to trust his own eyes, and procure his information more from observation and the intercourse of the natives, than from statistical works. The state of society—the character and manners of the people—the singular diversities observable in these particulars, both in different parts of the country, and in different ranks of the same community—the declining influence of the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracies—the real situation

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tion of the clergy—and the actual degree of ſuperſtition prevalent among the people:—all this might eaſily be learnt from a ſufficient intercourſe with the ſociety of the various ſtates. The effects which bad governments, and injurious ſyſtems of political economy have produced on the ſituation of different communities, might be illuſtrated with peculiar felicity in a country, where every kind of government, and every error in policy has flouriſhed among various portions of the ſame race, in nearly the ſame phyſical circumſtances, and geographical poſition, for ſeveral ages. The ſtate of letters—the recent progreſs of arts and ſciences, eſpecially in the north of Italy—and the hiſtory of the academies which have, during the laſt half century, ariſen there, forms another ſubject of intereſting obſervation, which has never been handled by any writer of travels. The mere ſcenery and climate itſelf have not been deſcribed with ſufficient livelineſs and accuracy. The remains of antiquity; the fine arts; and the recollections aſſociated with the ſoil, have engroſſed, not unnaturally, almoſt all the attention of thoſe who viſited this fine country.

'Adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem,
Tot congeſta manû præruptis oppida ſaxis;
Fluminaque antiquos ſubterlabentia muros.'—
'Hæc genus acre virûm Marſos, pubemque Sabellam,
Adſuetumque malo Ligurem, Volſcoſque verutos
Extulit: Hæc Decios, Marios, magnoſque Camillos
Scipiadaſque duros bello, et te maxime Cæſar.'

Such deſcriptions, and ſuch aſſociations, ought by no means to be neglected in a tour of Italy. Much as they have been dwelt upon by the beſt travellers, the theme is not yet exhauſted. It is ſtill poſſible to illuſtrate the ground by claſſical references, and thus to extend, by new recollections, one of the moſt delightful pleaſures which the viſitor of Italy enjoys: And it is, at any rate, uſeful to trace the changes which late events have produced in the treaſures of art poſſeſſed by this country. For accompliſhing the taſk which we have juſt now ſketched, and it is one of no very difficult execution, the traveller muſt evidently poſſeſs a previous knowledge of the hiſtory and ſtatiſtics of Italy; a thorough acquaintance with the ancient and modern language of its inhabitants; and a ſufficient degree of familiarity with the Latin claſſics. Indeed, thoſe qualifications are quite requiſite to any one who would enjoy the gratification of treading over the ground, without further views than his own immediate amuſement. As ſuch endowments are exceedingly common, even among the young perſons who travel into the ſouth of Europe and their tutors, we truſt that many years of peace will not paſs over without ſome attempt being made to accompliſh the work now hinted at. How far

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far Mr Lemaiſtre has been from doing any ſuch thing, we ſhall beſt explain by ſtating the extent and number of his diſqualifications for it.

In the *firſt* place, if, which is exceedingly poſſible, he does poſſeſs any knowledge of Italian hiſtory or ſtatiſtics, he has carefully, and, we will ſay, very ſucceſsfully concealed it. He has ſtudiouſly avoided all occaſions on which it might be diſplayed, and only by accident now and then left us to our ſuſpicions of him, when, in the endleſs round of his catalogues, he ſtumbles upon a celebrated character in hiſtory, and betrays an unpleaſant want of acquaintance with him. For example, the founder of the order of Jeſuits, whom he meets by accident among the churches at Rome, is paſſed by without any acknowledgement; or, at any rate, plainly *has the advantage* of our traveller, who calls him '*St Ignatius of Loyola.*' (II. 125.) *Secondly*, our author does not even pretend to know ten words of Italian, the eaſieſt as it is the moſt beautiful of modern languages, and ſo neceſſary for the inſtruction as well as the common comfort and convenience of any one deſirous of ſeeing Italy, that, without it, a traveller had better confine his excurſion to Wales or the Iſle of Wight. Not that Mr Lemaiſtre's profeſſed ignorance of Italian in the leaſt prevents him from crowding his pages with ſcraps of that language, to denote things juſt as intelligible in Engliſh. Theſe are ſcattered up and down with a liberal hand; and the murder of grammar and ſpelling render them ſo many eye-ſores to the reader. We have, for example, *Spagnia*, *Marquiſſe*, (we preſume for *Marcheſe*), Cavaliere *Servante*, &c.; and when a wrong Italian word is not at hand, rather than give us plain Engliſh, Mr Lemaiſtre muſt write his names of places and cuſtoms in French, which has about as little to do with the ſubject as Chineſe; beſides that his French is very indifferent. For example, talking of the Linden walk at Berlin, he muſt call it the *Tilleul*; and, inſtead of ſaying the Japan Palace at Dreſden, or giving the German name, whatever it is, he will have it to be the Palais *Japannais*, which is a mixture of French and ſome other language quite unknown to us. In the *third* requiſite above pointed out, an acquaintance with claſſical authors, Mr Lemaiſtre is almoſt equally deficient. He is far from giving us no quotations; on the contrary, the claſſic ground on which he treads inſpires him, and 'rouſes up all the Roman' that he has within him; but that is very little. His citations are not appoſite, and infinitely trite: as, diſcourſing of love, he '*exclaims*,' '*Omnia vincit amor, nos et cedamus amori.*' Of Baiæ, '*Nullus in orbe locus Baiis prælucet amœnis.*' And when he cannot find a quotation he will make one: as, talking of the Ruſſian miniſter

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at Vienna, who it seems does not live so well as the English minister, (a topic from which our traveller derives wonderful consolation), he adds, that it may still be said of him, '*Sequitur fratrem non passibus æquis.*' And these are Mr Lemaistre's eminent disqualifications for writing travels in Italy or elsewhere. All that we have to expect then from him, is a dry catalogue of the more common sights, with now and then a little tolerable description of the most interesting part of Europe.

With such endowments as we have described, he makes his way to Rome, and contrives to fill nearly a volume with appendixes taken from Lumsden's Guide, and other works, which give an account of that celebrated city. That his taste in painting is not of the most approved kind, may probably be conjectured from his totally omitting, in his notice of the chief pictures in the Borghese palace, the celebrated Titian of Venus blinding Cupid, perhaps the second work of that great master; and also from his being unable to see any thing very fine in the school of Athens, unquestionably the finest picture in the world. Mr Lemaistre, however, greatly prefers the St Peter in prison, in praise of which he is long and loud—evidently taken in by the trick and colouring of that beautiful piece; which no man of taste or knowledge ever viewed as remarkable in comparison of Raphael's other chef-d'œuvres, except because it is a curious specimen of what his powers would have been, had he chosen to exert them in the very subordinate pursuit of striking effect. Such mistakes as Kotzebue sometimes makes on these subjects, may easily be forgiven; they are the fruits less of an ignorant or tasteless mind, than of a love of paradox; and he frequently gives us some ingenious, or at least original idea in describing his affected singularities of judgment. But the reader of Mr Lemaistre will search his dull lists, his mere roll-call of pictures and statues in vain, for any novelty of remark, or any striking thoughts. Where he deviates further from the style of a catalogue than to call a thing pretty, fine, or charming, he only makes gross and ordinary blunders; not the flights of genius, or the errors of paradox, or even the efforts of affectation,—but the mistakes and the ignorance of one whose highest ambition would be to follow the common track of connoisseurs, and imitate the ordinary Cicerone, or his disciple the English traveller,—but whose taste or acquirements are inadequate to the attainment of this humble station. Accordingly, he is of all travellers after the fine arts by much the most unprofitable.

Besides seeing the churches and palaces at Rome, our author is presented to the Pope by Mr Fagan, a painter, or rather a dealer in pictures, who takes upon himself the functions of an English

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English minister, and receives the cordial thanks of Mr Lemaistre. This person, indeed, who has no sort of authority to act for this country, and who nevertheless grants passports as if he were an accredited agent, seems to have succeeded completely in playing himself off upon our traveller. He is warmly praised for his polite attentions, and mentioned as a public benefit to all Englishmen at Rome. Another visit was made to Cardinal York, who received Mr Lemaistre with the utmost hospitality and kindness, at his villa, and who receives the remuneration which always attends such ill advised acts of civility, in being held up to public ridicule through several pages of a book. The Bishop of Salin, in a subsequent part of the tour, performed the same rites of hospitality, and meets with the like return.

From Rome, the author journeyed on to Naples, where we again have catalogues and lists of names—though the environs of that capital are too interesting for even Mr Lemaistre's pencil to make dull. We formerly gave Kotzebue's description of the great wonder of Naples and of Italy, Pompeii. That our readers may compare the two, and receive whatever additional information we can communicate on so curious a subject, we shall extract Mr Lemaistre's account of the same town.

'From Portici, we drove to Pompeia, or Pompeii (for it is called by both names), a distance of ten miles. The country is beautiful, and the road excellent. Our expectations, highly as they had been raised, were, on arriving, much exceeded by the reality. Pompeii is not, like Herculaneum, under ground, and only visible in parts, and by torch-light: the whole is seen in open day; and the ruins might be taken for those of a city only just destroyed. We walked through the streets, the pavement of which still exists; and the marks of the carriages which once rolled over them are clearly discerned. The streets are narrow, and have flag stones on each side for foot-passengers. We saw two perfect amphitheatres, with the seats which the citizens of Pompeii formerly occupied; and plainly distinguished the boxes of the consuls, marked by corresponding ornaments. The public inscriptions also remain.

'We next entered the temple of Isis, * and beheld the altar, the secret

* 'This temple was built of brick, and covered with a kind of stucco. Some of the pillars are still entire: they are nine feet and a half high, and of the Doric order. All the instruments employed in sacrifice were found in this temple: candelabra, lamps, lustral basins, &c. Skeletons were also lying here, supposed to be the remains of the priests, who, as they were performing the sacred rites, were smothered in the shower of lava which destroyed the town. The walls were ornamented with emblems descriptive of the worship of Isis, and even with paintings of the *costumes* of the priests.'

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cret ſtair-caſe and hiding-place whence the prieſts pronounced the anſwers of the oracle, the place of ſlaughter, and that of ſacrifice, &c. &c. We likewiſe viſited the barracks of the ſoldiers, which ſtood at one end of the town.

'The private houſes are but ſmall, and each poſſeſſes a hall, or entrance room, in which a fountain of water conſtantly played. The apartments would be thought very little even in England, and in this hot climate muſt have been very inconvenient.

'The burying-ground of Diomedes, and the villa of a rich citizen, were the next objects which drew our attention. The latter is the only edifice which conveys ſome idea of a large manſion.

'From the limited dimenſions of the houſes here (notwithſtanding the paintings and other valuable articles found within them, which prove that economy cannot have occaſioned this diminutive ſtyle of building); and from the circumſtance of not one antient dwelling being left at Rome, though the Coliſeum, the Pantheon, and even parts of the Emperor's palace remain; I am inclined to conjecture, that a cuſtom, originating in the ſpirit of republicaniſm, made the maſters of the world avoid every appearance of oſtentation in private habitations; * while the utmoſt magnificence, luxury and taſte abounded in the theatres and forums, where the people aſſembled; in the manſions where the magiſtrates, the conſuls, or the emperors reſided; in the baths devoted to public use; and in the temples of the gods. As I am no antiquary, I pretend not to give a deciſive opinion on a fact with which I am ſo little acquainted; and only throw out this idea as one which has ſuggeſted itſelf more than once ſince I croſſed the Alps.

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* 'In looking into Mr Gibbon's account of Rome ſince my return to England, I was happy to find my conjecture confirmed by the following beautiful paſſage.

"In the commonwealths of Athens and Rome, the modeſt ſimplicity of private houſes announced the equal condition of freedom, whilſt the ſovereignty of the people was repreſented in the majeſtic edifices deſtined to the public uſe. Nor was this republican ſpirit totally extinguiſhed by the introduction of wealth and monarchy: it was in works of national honour and benefit that the moſt virtuous of the emperors affected to diſplay their magnificence."—*Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I.

'Perhaps the ſplendid reſidences of Lucullus, Verres, and ſome others, may be adduced as contradicting the probability of this ſuppoſition. I ſhall only obſerve, that theſe particular caſes prove nothing againſt the general cuſtom. I have no doubt that ſome few Romans occupied habitations infinitely more ſplendid and more ſpacious than the palaces of modern ſovereigns; but I apprehend that the wealthy citizens of antient Rome were uſually ſatisfied with much humbler houſes than thoſe which perſons in ſimilar circumſtances now occupy in the great capitals of Europe.'

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'I resume the subject of Pompeii. In the cellars of the villa, several bodies were found, supposed to have been those of servants; while in another part were discovered, surrounded with bags of useless gold, the carcases of their masters. Fine paintings *al-fresco* are still visible, and some of them are on transparent marble. When water is thrown on these pictures, they appear in all the freshness of their original colouring. The subjects of some of these paintings are not very decorous, according to modern ideas of delicacy; and the symbol of the god of gardening appears rather too frequently in the decoration of houses. Different signs, distinguishing the different trades carried on in shops, are plainly perceived; and among them, those of a tavern-keeper, on which all sorts of refreshments are painted.

'Having given you these few particulars, I need scarcely mention how much we were gratified in strolling about a place inhabited by the Romans, and which looked as if they had ceased but yesterday to occupy it. Identifying their persons with their habitations, we seemed to see them at their games, at their devotions, in the interior of their private dwellings, at their military exercises, walking or driving about their streets, enjoying social converse, preparing feasts, or consulting the oracle of their gods: in short, in their daily occupations,—in the kitchen, the bedchamber, the cellar, the library, the market, the walk, the forum, the theatre, the camp, and the temple.' II. 33—37.

We conclude our extracts with the following description of a young lady taking the veil, which is both striking and correct. We omit the quotations from Pope's Eloisa, with which Mr Lemaistre has thought fit to bedizzen his pages in this part of his narrative.

'When we stopped at the door of the church in which this dreadful sacrifice was to be made, two gentlemen, dressed in uniform, relations of the lady about to assume the religious habit, came forward, and, notwithstanding a heavy shower of rain which was falling at the time, insisted on handing *le Signore Inglese* up the stairs of the church. On entering, we received another mark of the civility shown to strangers by the Neapolitan *noblesse*,—the front seats were reserved exclusively for foreigners; by which arrangement we were enabled to see the ceremony to the greatest advantage.

'The church is a small, but pretty building, decorated on all sides with rich marble.

'The relatives of the unfortunate girl, and all their friends, were in full dress; and, instead of expressing any grief on the occasion, seemed to consider the event as extremely joyful. Liveliness sat on the countenances of most of them: and the whole scene had rather the appearance of a triumph, than of a sacrifice.

'Printed papers were distributed about the church; the contents of which were so curious, that though I will not tire you by copying them *verbatim*, I must give you the heads, as characteristic of the sentiments which prevail here on such subjects. They formed together a dialogue, the

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the *dramatis personæ* of which were the World and the full Novice. The one was entitled, "To her excellency Signora ——— the World speaks;" and consisted of a poetical and flowery description of the pleasures of life. The other had written over it, "To the World her excellency Signora ——— answers." In the latter, the victim of superstition was made victoriously to prove the superior blessings of contemplative ease and celestial joy, found in the calm retreat of a religious house; and, disdaining the tawdry and empty vanities offered by the World, she declared how happy she thought herself in being allowed to exchange these baubles for the glorious service of the heavenly Spouse to which she was about to devote the remainder of her days.

'The ceremony began with some very good music. High mass was then said; and, in the middle of it, the unfortunate girl, a beautiful and elegant creature, not more than nineteen years of age, and by far the handsomest Neapolitan female whom I have yet seen, appeared at the grate; near which a large, and rather disorderly crowd, was collected. The confessor, standing on the outer side, read some prayers, and gave the novice, through the grate, a wax taper lighted. The lovely victim, dressed in the most sumptuous and fashionable manner, and ornamented with jewels and other decorations, placed it on the altar of an inner chapel, and, returning again to the grate, received from the priest a crucifix. Joy sparkled in her countenance as she took the sacred symbol of Christianity, and with enthusiastic ardour clasped it to her breast. She was then led away by the other nuns; and in a few minutes was brought back in a plain white flannel dress, the *costume* of the order. This change of garment had produced none in her beauty; and the interest which she had excited on her first appearance, was rather increased than diminished by the religious habit which she now wore. The lady-abbess next cut off her long and flowing hair, and put over her head the fatal veil. I confess that I shuddered as I witnessed this last act, which sealed the fate of the unhappy girl. This sentiment, common to all the English, and which rendered the most volatile melancholy, was not shared by the nearest relatives of her who was thus condemned

"to wither in her bloom,
Lest in a convent's solitary gloom."

The Neapolitan ladies laughed, or rather *giggled*, during the most serious parts of the ceremony; sent messages backwards and forwards; and amused themselves with conversing together on the most trivial topics; in short, seemed to consider the whole as a very lively and pleasant event. The novice shed no tears; but her countenance was pale, and I thought I could discover that the smile she assumed was rather forced than natural.

'As we were leaving the chapel, we were invited into the *parloir*; where the nuns, only separated by a low grate, appeared, and entertained the strangers with ice-cakes and other refreshments. The new victim was here seen again, and seemed, by an officious activity

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displayed in waiting on her guests, to be anxious to conceal the dreadful thoughts which probably pressed on her mind.

'During the whole of this ceremony, I experienced the most painful sensations, and I could not help remarking, how circumstances of the most dreadful kind may be reconciled by custom, prejudice, and religious opinions. The English assembled on this occasion, feeling both pity for the object of sacrifice, and indignation against those who were the authors of it, were at one instant overcome with grief, and the next animated with an enthsiastic wish to rush forward, and, by force, to rescue the victim of superstition from the hands of her bigoted relatives; while the Neapolitans, conceiving that they themselves were doing an act of laudable piety in devoting this lovely creature to the cloister, and were likewise insuring her eternal happiness, showed, in their manner, their countenances, and their conversation, that they looked on what was passing as a scene of joy, not of sorrow. The loud tone of speaking, or screaming, which I have before remarked as prevalent in Italian society, was particularly remarkable on this occasion; and nothing, altogether, could be less solemn, than a ceremony calculated, according to our ideas, to excite the most serious and most painful reflections.' (II. 62—67.)

From Naples our author returned through Rome to Venice, and thence by the way of Styria to Vienna, where he found the people hospitable, the ambassadors splendid, and the court every thing that could be wished. This indeed happens always to Mr Lemaistre. He is no railer at the great ones of the world. A Prince is with him a synonyme for perfection; and he takes *King* in its antique signification of a wise man. The politeness of the Royal family at Naples was as winning, and their remarks as sprightly, as those of the Pope. Nor could any thing have surpassed both their Majesties and his Holiness, but the affability and graciousness of the Emperor and Empress; who, together with all the Archdukes, and all the Archdutchesses, and all the Princes of the Milanese, as well as the Austrian branch, are possessed of every virtue, public and private, and of all the accomplishments of body and mind, which their stations require. Nay, so infectious is this universal perfection, that it extends to their Excellencies (a term used by our author in its literal sense) the Ministers of State and their wives; insomuch, that Count Cobentzel, who, we learn, is a person of 'lively parts, and celebrated for his wit,' invited Mr Lemaistre to a dinner of a hundred dishes; and Count Zechy gave him a dinner, where the dishes were still better dressed, and where there was also tokay; while Countess Zechy, at a ball, showed Mrs Lemaistre 'a degree of elegant attention, infinitely honourable to her,' after the following manner: 'With a respect for strangers which cannot be too highly extolled, and which, I believe, is almost peculiar to Vienna, Madame

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dame Zechy rose, and crossed the room, to receive Mrs Lemaistre.' (II. 317.) Nor is the optimism of the Court of Vienna confined to natives. Count P. and his lady, a native of Scotland, are models of perfection in their several walks; and their son, a child of five years old, is the very Roscius of our author's admiration. 'He sits on a carpet surrounded with books, and delivers the gravest and most acute remarks, rather like a spirit than a child.' —'He is a phenomenon; and, should he live and continue to make an equal progress in knowledge, he will rival the fame of—Sir Isaac Newton!' (II. 360-1.)

At Dresden and Berlin, Mr Lemaistre scarcely stopt. He has time, however, to notice the infinite perfections of the Electoral family at the one place, having seen them passing out of church to their carriage, and the Royal house at the other. The Queen's beauty, in particular, he pronounces deserving of its high and universal celebrity, having seen her drive past in a postchaise and four, with her handkerchief applied to her face. From Berlin he proceeded through Lubec to Toningen, where his stock of pictures and statues, and kings and queens, and, unhappily, even of dinners and beds, failing him, he conducts us in peace to the water's edge, embarks in a packet, and arrives in a tumult of joy on the English coast.

Upon the whole, we must be permitted to grumble a little at Mr Lemaistre for the dulness of his long work. We believe that he belongs, when properly classified, to the agricultural, and not to the literary part of the community. Now that he has finished his tours, and published two printed books on them, we exhort him to hang up his pen, which was not made for public purposes. In the circle of domestic society, in the bosom of his family, he may enjoy the celebrity which his travels in foreign parts will there procure him; or, should he ever again be filled with ambitious views, and be tempted to forsake the happy life of a country gentleman, the '*somnus virorum levis agrestium*,' for more noisy and splendid scenes, we see no reason why he should not shine at meetings assembled for addresses, or edify, on a bench of Justices, at the Sessions.

"*Et de mensura jus dicere, vasa minora*
Frangere, pannosus vacuis Ædilis Ulubris."

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ART. III. *An Historical View of Christianity; containing Select Passages from Scripture; with a Commentary by the late Edward Gibbon Esq., and Notes by the late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, Monsieur de Voltaire, and others.* London. Cadell & Davies. 1806.

ALL our orthodoxy was up in arms at the perusal of this extraordinary title; and our alarm was not unmingled with horror, when, on turning the page, we found the work inscribed to the Honourable and right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Durham. We wondered, for the third time, when we came to the notice prefixed to the work by the editor, in which he announces it as his serious intention, to prove the authenticity of Divine revelation from the testimony of its bitterest enemies. In this same notice, he also informs us, that 'he does not presume to assert that the preface is the composition of Mr Gibbon.' 'It appears, however,' says he, 'to be written as an introduction to his Commentary; and, if not by his pen, was probably the production of some friend, who had as much pleasure in seeing him among the defenders of Christianity, as the inhabitants of *Naioth* had in seeing Saul among the Prophets.' It is not likely that any of the readers of this preface will suspect it of coming from the pen of Mr Gibbon. It contains, however, many proofs of the sincere piety of the anonymous author, with a clear and succinct statement of the testimonies which are commonly adduced in support of revelation. Much of the reasoning must be admitted to be unanswerable; nor can it be necessary, at this time of day, to present our readers with any analysis of it. A few premises, established in rather an arbitrary manner, and a few conclusions not very logically drawn, might perhaps be pointed out; but where a work is designed to silence for ever the impertinent cavils of philosophists, we may be permitted, after the example of so many of our brethren, to shut our eyes on such trifling imperfections.

Impatient to behold the most celebrated infidels of the last century bearing unquestionable testimony in favour of religion, we turned eagerly from the perusal of the preface to the work itself. Here we found, that certain select passages from the Bible formed the text; that extracts from Gibbon's history furnished the commentary; and that a few scattered remarks from the pens of Bolingbroke, Voltaire, Hume, and the editor himself, supplied the notes. With all our anxiety for this last gentleman's undertaking, we could not help thinking that we had never seen a stranger medley; and we repeated the first lines of

Horace's

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Horace's Art of Poetry with an inward sadness which we had never before experienced on a like occasion. The first chapter is entitled, *On the Progress of the Christian Religion.* It consists of passages taken from St Mark, St Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles, in which the kingdom of God is likened to a grain of mustard seed, and our Saviour announces to the Jews that the scripture is fulfilled in their ears. The commentary, if such it can be called, is composed of various shreds and patches collected from the writings of Mr Gibbon, in which the historian has related the progress of Christianity, and its diffusion among the Gentile nations. We looked in vain, however, for that unequivocal and unexceptionable evidence, which the editor had told us, in his notice, had been given by Mr Gibbon in support of revelation. On the contrary, we met with much in his cutting sarcasms, and in his matchless but mischievous irony, to wound the sensibility of Christian devotion; while we found nothing in his statement of facts to comfort and console it.

In acknowledging, that the faith was rapidly extended beyond the narrow circle in which it was first taught, the historian confessed what we do not recollect ever to have heard denied. It is not equally clear, however, that the admission of this fact impressed his mind with a belief in the divine origin of Christianity; nor are we convinced, that a judicious advocate in the cause of religion would pretend, that such a belief was the necessary consequence of such an admission. More than one false religion has spread with astonishing celerity; and the sects which spring up every day, seem to prove a kind of aptitude in human nature for the reception of new doctrines. That the impostures of Mahomet were rapidly diffused, and readily received as truths, cannot well be disputed, when we call to mind how short a time elapsed from the period when he declared himself to be the Prophet of God to Kadijah, in the cave in Mount Hara, to the establishment of his religion and authority in half the kingdoms of the east. In our own times, we have heard of the progress of new sects—of the Seiks in India, and of the Wahabees in Arabia. Nobody will argue from this, that their doctrines must be true. But perhaps the editor thought that Mr Gibbon's statement confirmed, as far as his authority goes, the fulfilment of the prophecy contained in the parable of the grain of mustard seed, in which our Saviour evidently alludes to the future progress, and the rapid and general diffusion of his word. That the historian bears testimony to the fact of the rapid progress of Christianity is undoubted; but, as we have already observed, this has never been contested; and it is not enough for the purpose of the editor, that Mr Gibbon admits it. When we have

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to contend with infidels, we should take care not to employ any slippery weapons which may drop from our hands. The infidel, who acknowledges that the prediction was accomplished, may still deny the inspiration which dictated it. That Christianity arose from small beginnings, he will say, was known to its founder; and he will ask, if this prophecy of the future dissemination of his doctrines be one which can prove its author to have been divinely inspired? Mahomet, he will add, in the seventh year of the Hegira, predicted that the splendour of the empire, which he should found, would eclipse that of the Persian monarchy; and yet the historian, who might confess that the prediction was verified, would hardly expect to be told, that he thereby furnished unequivocal and unexceptionable evidence in favour of Islamism. We cannot, indeed, see either the prudence or the utility of putting so much stress upon this prophecy, which, though certainly fulfilled, or fulfilling, is not, so apparently at least as some others, one of those which bear the stamp of more than human knowledge, and which the uninspired wisdom of man could not have dictated. It is not like many others both in the Old Testament and in the New, which so mark the time, place, and circumstance, that the infidel, in order to deny what they should oblige him to confess, has no other resource than the disingenuous objection, that they were forged after the events had happened which they affected to predict.

The second chapter is *on Polytheism.* It is made up of a tissue of quotations from the Bible. What the editor calls the commentary of Mr Gibbon, is composed from various unconnected passages, taken from the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. These fragments, though beautiful in themselves, make but a motley appearance in the strange Mosaic into which they have been here wrought by the editor. What his purpose was, we are at a loss to guess. Mr Gibbon has certainly exposed the absurdity of the vulgar creed of the Pagans with great eloquence; nor has he concealed the fanciful and contradictory opinions of the sages of antiquity, on the most important questions of religion, on the providence of God, and on the immortality of the soul. He has not denied, that the description of the infernal regions had been abandoned to the fancy of poets and painters; and he has spoken, as it might be expected a philosopher would speak, of the mob of deities that were adored by the superstitious populace. But what evidence is afforded by all this in support of Christianity? Does it follow, that he who expresses his contempt for one religion, thereby becomes a witness in favour of another? We shall be happy to be better instructed; but at present, we do not see any

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any very clear logical inference, by which it may be made to appear, that in ridiculing or censuring the superstitions of antiquity, Mr Gibbon has shown himself to be the vindicator of revelation. Had it been true, indeed, that neither he, nor any other writer, had ventured to point their wit and their malice against the established faith, their silence might have been charitably construed in their favour; but we fear, that those who may be too truly accused of attempting to throw ridicule on all religions, cannot be very fairly said to have defended one, because they have laughed at another.

The editor has furnished a note to this chapter, which has rather the air of being paradoxical. 'If I was,' (were) says he, 'to select the person who, after St Paul, had, by his writings, most contributed to establish and confirm the evidence of the Christian religion, I should, without hesitation, name the Emperor Julian.' The first impression which the perusal of this sentence made upon our minds, was not very favourable to the author's sincerity. After more mature reflection, however, we became in a great degree disposed to adopt his opinion. We shall state the train of thought which led to this change in our sentiments.

It appears, from the little that we certainly know of its early history, that Polytheism was very widely diffused among the most ancient nations of which we have any authentic records. This is not the place to say any thing of its origin, which has been, and perhaps may be properly, attributed to various causes. It is enough for us to observe, that the harmony and unity, which show themselves in the scheme of nature, would probably soon bring irresistible testimony against a plurality of gods, to those men, who, as society became more refined, had leisure to study the magnificent and orderly system of the universe. We may, however, consider it as not less probable, that those who governed states, and influenced popular opinion, would fear to propose too rapid and too extensive a change in the religious sentiments of mankind. They would have recourse to allegory, to fable, and to metaphor; would involve a simple religion in all the obscurity of mysterious symbols; and would reserve for a few the knowledge of their real doctrines. That the sages of antiquity followed such a course, will not appear unlikely, if we consider their institutions at Eleusis and other places; the explanations which they gave of their fables; and the decided testimony which many of them have left of their pure and exalted notions of the Deity. While, however, they were fearful of shocking popular belief, by too plain an avowal of their sentiments, they might have been labouring gradually to introduce a religion, which appeared to them to be consonant with truth and nature.

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The plan of the ancient mythology, accordingly, appears to have been contrived with great skill and beauty. It was a system of nature, concealed under the veil of allegory. A thousand fanciful fables contained a secret and mystic meaning. The history of the revolutions of the physical world was interwoven with the fictions of the imagination; and the gods of the people were considered by the statesman and the philosopher as symbols, emblems, or personifications, which were indicative, or illustrative of the system of nature and the universe, as well as of the powers and attributes of that Supreme Being who governs all things. The writings of some of the ancient philosophers, and especially of the later Platonists, fully develop and explain the beautiful system of the Greek mythology. But this plan, however simple it might appear to enlightened and educated men, was only a scene of confusion for the illiterate, and consequently much the greater portion of mankind. The meaning of the fable was overlooked, and the fable itself was religiously believed. History was lost in mythology; the marvellous was blended with every thing; and popular superstition, then, as always, was incapable of being sufficiently glutted with improbabilities. The poets too, lent all the charms of their art, to the delusions, the tales, and the fictions, which misled the people. They embellished the allegories which concealed the systems of philosophers; but they rendered the religion of the populace only the more monstrous by their fanciful decorations.

Whatever, then, might have been the intentions of those legislators and philosophers, who first formed and constituted this allegorical religion, it is obvious, that all hopes of rendering it generally intelligible to the people must have been soon abandoned, if such hopes were really ever entertained. The religious errors of the multitude were confirmed by their civil institutions; were connected with the practice and cultivation of the most delightful of the arts, with poetry, painting, and sculpture; and seemed to be sanctioned by the general voice of mankind, the Greek and the barbarian, the philosopher and the peasant. It might, then, be deemed inexpedient to disturb the repose of the world, by an exposition of the absurdities which were apparently revered by all, and which, in fact, were only ridiculed by a few. Enlightened men might consider, that the progress of refinement would gradually produce, what it appears to have produced, a general indifference to the ancient superstitions. After the learning of Greece was cultivated by the Romans, more liberal notions were rapidly diffused among that warlike but incurious people; and it must be confessed, that, during the most flourishing period of the empire, the Pagan philosopher might justly vaunt a freedom of speculative

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tulative opinion, which has been unknown to succeeding ages. The contempt, which men of education felt, and frequently expressed for the vulgar creed, seems to have been gradually extended to all ranks. Even the people themselves were already almost laughed out of their belief in Jupiter, Mercury, and Apollo, in the wars and the amours of their fabulous gods, and in the lying oracles of Delphos and Dodona. But mankind in general are too prone to superstition, to endure its absence long; and the doctrine of pure monotheism was too subtle and refined for the ignorant and untaught multitude. The Romans became indifferent to the religion of their ancestors, and yet were not the less ready to become dupes to new impostures. A lucrative trade was carried on by pretended magicians, fortune-tellers, and astrologers; by Chaldeans and Egyptians, who frequently attracted the attention of the magistrates by their impositions and extortions. It is even not impossible, that the writings of Moses, and perhaps the Gospel itself, were consulted by the same fanatics, who were accustomed to sound the cymbal, and to shake the sistrum, in the midnight orgies of Cybele and Isis. While the ancient fabric of Paganism was thus insensibly melting away, any foreign god was yet welcomed to the Pantheon, and every kind of heathen worship was at once received and ridiculed at Rome.

Such was the state of the capital of the empire, when it was first illumined by the light of Christianity. That this divine religion was eagerly embraced by many, cannot be a matter of surprise to those, who admit the accuracy of the statement which we have just made. Human nature is ever prompt to inquire into subjects which are inscrutable to the limited understanding of man; and those, who found that their whole faith was founded on the fables of poets, or the conjectures of philosophers, may well be supposed impatient to adopt a new creed, recommended by the sanctity of those who professed it, by the important information which it revealed to the world, and by the miracles which accompanied its annunciation. The opposition which was made to the progress of Christianity, proceeded from principles that were feeble, indeed, when compared with the ardour and enthusiasm which animated its disciples. What could the wavering and inconsistent faith of the Pagans oppose to the resolute determination of men, whose zeal was ever ready to brave the terrors of death and torments, and whose conviction was not to be shaken by the contempt or the rage of their adversaries? The Christians were indefatigable in gaining proselytes. They astonished the multitude by the history of prodigies; dazzled many by their descriptions of celestial enjoyments; alarmed more by the denunciation of eternal tortures; and probably amazed all by

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by the confidence with which they proclaimed the approaching diſſolution of nature, and the coming of the kingdom of Heaven. The Pagan philoſophers long overlooked, or affected to overlook, the diſſemination of the new principles; and when they engaged in the controverſy, it was difficult for them to defend the ancient religion. To have maintained, that the polytheiſm of the people could be reconciled to truth, or even to probability, would have been to expoſe themſelves to the juſt reproaches of their enemies, and to furniſh them with weapons againſt them. To have admitted, that the exiſtence of the popular gods of Greece and Rome was a fiction of the imagination; to have ſunk them into emblems of the phyſical elements; to have reſolved them into mere abſtractions; or to have denominated them ſymbols of the various attributes of a ſole and omnipotent Deity, would have been, in the eyes of the people, to have abandoned the cauſe of Paganiſm. Thoſe writers, who undertook to maintain the cauſe of the ancient religion, were, in fact, reduced to this dilemma. Paganiſm, as it was explained by philoſophers, was unintelligible to the vulgar;—as it was underſtood by the vulgar, it appeared ridiculous to philoſophers. In ſuch a caſe, the ſtruggle could not have been long, if the perſecutions, which the Chriſtians ſo often ſuffered, had not retarded their ſucceſs. When, from all the cauſes which we have ſtated, the prejudices of the people in favour of their ancient ſuperſtitions began to relax, it was, perhaps, already too late to attempt to revive their expiring veneration for the gods of Olympus. It was much too late, after Chriſtianity had become the religion of the bulk of the people, and after it had been once eſtabliſhed by imperial authority. Perſecution could then only tend to inflame zeal, and exaſperate pride. To attempt to defend the abſurdities of the vulgar creed, was now become a ſure way of expoſing them the more. We may, indeed, wonder, that the philoſophic Julian ſhould have choſen this mode of oppoſing Chriſtianity; and inaſmuch as he endeavoured in his writings to vindicate the exploded ſuperſtitions of the people, it is probable, that he only thereby confirmed them the more in their attachment to their new religion.

While, however, we ſo far agree with the editor concerning the effects which were likely to be produced by the writings of the Emperor Julian, we cannot help obſerving, that it appears raſh to maintain, that an author, who laboured to reſtore Paganiſm, did more for Chriſtianity than all the ſaints of the Church who have written ſince the days of St Paul. This would almoſt ſeem to argue, that the weak reaſoning of thoſe who defended the ancient ſuperſtitions, had done more to promote the progreſs of true religion, than all the arguments of thoſe who profeſſed and taught it; and that Chriſtianity owed its eſtabliſhment rather

to

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to the absurdity of the system which it supplanted, than to its own intrinsic worth. We fully acquit the orthodox writer of the note (for orthodox we doubt not he is) of any intention to convey such a meaning; but the experience of our lives has not helped to convince us, that the zealous are apt to be accurate, or the enthusiastic prudent.

The third chapter is entitled, '*Of the Spirit of Christianity*,' and commences with a quotation from St Luke. 'Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you. And to him that smiteth thee on one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak, forbid not to take away thy coat also.' The spirit of humility, charity, and resignation, which is breathed in these sentences, is indeed most amiable. If the perversity of human nature render it difficult, or impossible, for us to follow these precepts in their literal sense, the beauty of the moral theory which they recommend, is not less conspicuous; nor have they any tendency, when rightly understood, to produce a state of society, where we should meet only with tyrants and robbers upon one hand, and patient and grateful sufferers on the other.

The persecutions which the Christians should suffer, are foretold in some of the texts; and those which they had already begun to suffer, are described in other texts, which are strung together in the fourth chapter of the work before us. We are of opinion, that the sarcastic language of the Commentary, is much more likely to strike its readers, than any evidence which it contains in support of revelation. 'It has already been observed,' says Mr Gibbon, 'that the religious concord of the world was principally supported by the implicit assent and reverence which the nations of antiquity expressed for their respective traditions and ceremonies. *It might therefore be expected*, that they would unite with indignation against any sect or people which should separate itself from the communion of mankind; and, claiming the exclusive possession of divine knowledge, should disdain every form of worship, except its own, as impious and idolatrous.' This seems to us to be rather a strange mode of bringing forward unequivocal and unexceptionable evidence in support of religion. It does not appear to us to be the way to prove that a prophecy was of divine origin, to show us, that what that prophecy foretold, was precisely that which might have been expected.

The fifth chapter commences with some extracts from Genesis, in which it is narrated, that God conversed with Abraham; that he made a covenant with him; that he gave him the name of Abraham, because the Lord had made him the father of many nations;

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nations; and that Abraham was ninety-nine years of age when he received the rite of circumcision. These extracts are followed by others from the New Testament, containing the prophecies of Christ concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the Temple, which had been rebuilt by Herod. Upon the first part of this chapter (for such we shall call it out of courtesy), Mr Gibbon's commentary does not appear to throw much light. If it throw any, it is not upon the truth or fidelity of the history of Moses. 'The contemporaries of Moses and Joshua,' says Mr Gibbon, 'had beheld, with careless indifference, the most amazing miracles. Under the pressure of every calamity, the belief of those miracles has preserved the Jews of a later period from the universal contagion of idolatry; and, in contradiction to every known principle of the human mind, that singular people seems to have yielded a stronger and more ready assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors, than to the evidence of their own senses.' The incredulity of the Jews, amidst the signs and the wonders, the miracles and the prodigies, which happened among them, is indeed one of the stumblingblocks, which the infidel is ever ready to pretend he cannot remove. In times when the Deity condescended to interpose his authority, in order to liberate the children of Israel from bondage; when he reversed the order of nature; when he sent famine, plague, and death, on the land of Egypt; when he divided the waves of the sea for the sake of his favoured people; and when he was accustomed to converse familiarly with their leader;—these blind and ungrateful Jews were scarcely less prone to idolatry than their heathen neighbours. After the revolution of ages, this same nation, although no longer witnessing such astonishing miracles, put implicit faith in the writings of Moses, and were convinced by the very prodigies which failed to convince those who were said to have beheld them. All this must undoubtedly be confessed to be very surprising; and yet we are at a loss to imagine, how, either in stating, or in insinuating, the common objection of infidelity to the truth of the Mosaic history, any evidence can be said to have been brought in its support. Would not the time of the orthodox editor have been better employed in answering the objection (as we have no doubt he could do), than in producing it to the public, couched in the ironical language of Mr Gibbon?

The prediction of the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, is one of the most distinct in the sacred volume. That it should be so, may appear extraordinary to those who consider by whom the prophecy was made, and the small importance of the event which it foretold. In the history of the world, and to the greater portion of the inhabitants of the globe, it seems, at first

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last sight at least, to be of little consequence, whether the capital of one of the most insignificant provinces of the Roman empire should stand or fall. But, let us take into consideration the place where the prediction was made, and the circumstances which attended it. Jesus was approaching to Jerusalem, where he was to announce his divine mission to the rulers of the people. He knew the fate that awaited him; and, as he beheld Jerusalem, he wept over it, and apostrophized the ungrateful city in the most affecting and pathetic language. Its enemies, he foretold, should cast a trench about it, should compass it round, and should not leave one stone upon another, because it knew not the time of its visitation. The destruction of the temple, and the dispersion of the Jews, are afterwards announced with equal accuracy; and Christ concludes with foretelling his second appearance, and the signs which shall precede the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory. 'When ye see these things (said he to his disciples) come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all be fulfilled.'

A considerable part of the commentary upon these passages is furnished by Josephus, with more propriety, we think, than could have been done from the works of Mr Gibbon. Our readers probably remember the insidious observation of this last historian, whom the editor is pleased to call a defender of Christianity, in allusion, we believe, to the very words which we have just cited from the Scripture. 'The revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation.'

We have said, that the commentary upon the text has been supplied with more propriety in this place from the history of Josephus, than from that of Mr Gibbon: but we do not mean by this to declare our approbation of the commentary. The relation which Josephus has given of the siege of Jerusalem, has too much of that kind of colouring which is better adapted to a romance than a history. He asserts, that the most shocking cruelties were committed by the Roman soldiers, which the humane Titus lamented, but did not prevent; and he pretends, that eleven hundred thousand Jews perished, during this dreadful siege, which must have been more bloody than any that is recorded in the annals of the world. We should not, however, have taken notice of the exaggerations of the gossiping Josephus, if he had not affirmed, 'that the divine sentence had *long since* condemned the temple to the fire.' Now, as Josephus was a Jew, steadily attached to the faith of his nation, and as he consequently

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sequently rejected the Gospel, it is evident, that he affected, in this passage, to refer to some prediction which existed before the time of our Saviour. For it will not surely be pretended that he understood the divine sentence to have been pronounced by Jesus of Nazareth, since, as Tillotson remarks, he seems to have avoided, as much as he could, the very mention of the Christian name; and since it is generally admitted, that the passage in his work, containing an account of Christ, is a manifest forgery. We cannot, therefore, help admiring how the orthodox editor of the volume before us should have brought forward Josephus as a commentator on the words of the text, when it must be clear, that he did not mean to attribute the prophecy to its real author.

The remaining part of the commentary to this fifth and last chapter, is supplied by Mr Gibbon. This historian mentions the unsuccessful attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple, and relates, with an honourable impartiality, the events which are said to have impeded the impious undertaking of the imperial apostate. We must leave the story, however, of the earthquake, the whirlwind, and the fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the foundations of the new temple, to be examined by bolder critics. For our own parts, we conceive that nothing can be so injudicious as to rest the evidence of Christianity in any degree upon such a legend; and really have little more respect for the prodigies of Marcellinus, than for those of Livy or of Plutarch.

Of the notes which are subjoined from Hume, Bolingbroke, and Voltaire, we have thought it unnecessary to say any thing hitherto, because we honestly confess they do not appear to us to contain any evidence at all in support of revelation. We cannot, indeed, easily conceive what should have induced the orthodox editor to seek for such evidence in such writers. Hume merits all our praise as a profound thinker; and the elegance of his style will long recommend him to readers who can comprehend nothing of his philosophy. Among all those, however, who, as they read, sit wondering for a meaning, we have never met with one who expected to find any evidence brought forward by David Hume in support of Christianity. The talents and eloquence of Bolingbroke, in like manner, are generally admitted and admired; but his philosophy was shallow; nor should we think it of much importance to the cause of religion to prove that he had argued in its favour. That he has ever seriously done so, we must be permitted to doubt. On the contrary, his language, when he speaks of religious matters, is often

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often highly intemperate and indecorous. Every body knows that what are called his philosophical works, contain much more declamation against Christian teachers, if not against Christianity itself, than sound philosophy; and Bolingbroke appears to have dreaded the judgment which might be pronounced on his essays, which he left to be published by Mallet after his death. Dr Johnson, with a degree of warmth which can be excused only on one side of the question, and certainly with more force than urbanity, called him a rascal and a coward,—a rascal who had charged a blunderbuss against Christianity; and a coward, who had hired a hungry Scotchman to draw the trigger. With respect to Voltaire, we must own, we little expected ever to see his name in the list of the defenders of revelation. His light and playful ridicule, his ready and brilliant wit, his acute and lively mind, must ever be admired; and we are not so morose as to quarrel with all his works, because he wrote too freely in some of them, and too superficially in others. We lament sincerely, indeed, that he should have so often lent his aid in the cause of infidelity; and we lament it the more, that in spite of all the declamations against them, his works are read by every man who pretends to any kind of education in Europe. These feelings have not been changed by the notes which the orthodox editor has adduced from his writings, to prove, that Voltaire was a witness who might be cited to bring evidence in support of religion. Among these notes we find a few lines from the tragedy of *Alzire*. Was this introduced to show the reading or the judgment of the editor? It certainly no more proves Voltaire to have had any religious belief, than the speeches of Macbeth would prove Shakespear to have had the conscience of a murderer and a regicide.

After having made so many remarks, and at such length, on the singular publication before us, it may be expected that we should finally pronounce judgment upon it. As the intention of the editor appears to have been good, and as his preface is written with considerable acumen in support of the good cause, we should be unwilling to speak unfavourably of a work, which has no doubt cost him much time and labour. We cannot, however, in conscience, recommend it to him to proceed in his task, as he intimates some intention of doing. On the contrary, we must say that we heartily disapprove of the plan and execution of the work now before us. No man in his sober senses can believe that any sincere or serious evidence in favour of Christianity, can be wrung out of the writings to which this author has made reference. If the attempt was made to show his ingenuity, we must be permitted to say, that the subject is a great deal too

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sacred and important to be disturbed by such experiments: and if he really imagined that he was strengthening the cause of revelation by a new species of attack on its adversaries, we can only say that his judgment is infinitely less than his learning or his industry.

It is our peculiar felicity in this island, that while infidelity has made such lamentable progress on the Continent, we still continue stedfast, in general, to the faith of our ancestors. The splendid endowments of the hierarchy in Catholic countries, has scarcely been able to maintain the exterior forms of devotion among the higher classes. The priesthood itself is, in many places, infected with the same contagion; and a recent traveller has recorded, that when he was at Rome, he observed a smile of contempt upon the countenances of several of the cardinals, in the midst of the most solemn offices. There are yet no such examples among us: the writings of infidels have made little impression in this country; and we have as little to fear, we think, from the philosophy, as from the arms of our enemies. In such a situation, we do not think it prudent to familiarize the ears of our youth with their names and their writings, nor to resort to their pages for proofs of the truths they denied. Inconsistencies may no doubt be detected in their statements, and advantage may be taken of their admissions, to refute the conclusions they would impress. But these advantages we reap most effectually, when we treat them as adversaries; it is a dangerous and indecent frolic to affect to deal with them as auxiliaries; and, in point of fact, it would be just as easy to prove, that St Paul was a defender of Paganism, as that Mr Gibbon was a champion of Christianity.

ART. IV. *An Excursion to the Highlands of Scotland and the English Lakes; with Recollections, Descriptions, and References to Historical Facts.* 8vo. pp. 290. Mawman. London, 1805.

THIS is past all enduring. Here is a tour, *travelled, written, published, sold,* and, for any thing we know, *reviewed* by one and the same individual! We cannot submit patiently to this monstrous monopoly: and are impelled, by a fellow feeling for those industrious persons, whose livings and multiplied functions have been engrossed by this arch pluralist, to remonstrate somewhat loudly against such a dangerous innovation. A cotton-mill, which rolls, cards, and spins at the same instant, is a machine less dreadful to the insulated industry of individuals, than an author and a traveller like Mr Mawman; and unless something can be done

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done to restore the ancient distinction of ranks and subdivisions of labour, we foresee nothing but the most dreadful confusion, and the most ruinous dissensions in the great commonwealth of letters.

It may be suggested, indeed, that this dangerous example is not very likely to be followed, as few booksellers can be supposed equal to the extraordinary exertions of the individual before us. This is probably true; but when one house happens to possess a long list of partners, they may, by distributing the different departments among themselves, accomplish, as a corporation, what Mr Mawman, by superior prowess, has achieved in his own person. They may have their travelling partner, their writing partner, and their reviewing partner; and it will be but fair that the first of these, who in summer is migratory, should in winter become torpid, and be a sleeping partner. In whatever way it is managed, however, the consequence is plain. When booksellers become authors, 'the occupation' of the latter class 'is gone:' and indeed, we think it but a duty to say, that if the experiment should be persisted in, we cannot answer for the personal safety of those who, by depriving them of bread, let loose a host of journeymen writers, in whom the fury of hunger is superadded to the 'fine frenzy' of inspiration. Mr Mawman should remember the perils which attend the monopolist: Or, as Josephus expresses it, (we will not affront a brother author by translating)—
Τας μονους του εχειν επαιδουσους ὁπλα.

The peace of the metropolis was lately endangered by the theatrical insurrections of the tailors. But what were the outrages dreaded from these heroes, compared with the uproar which may be expected, when the famished inhabitants of Grub-Street issue from their hive, and brandish their penknives against the privileged order of Paternoster-row? *Diversa omnium quæ unquam accidere civilium armorum facies.* Being more resourceless than any other description of men, they will be proportionally more desperate. They are too awkward for the army; and though, from practice in climbing and living aloft, they may be thought better qualified for the navy, yet, alas! it is the able-bodied, not the able-minded, who meet with encouragement there. In lawless occupations they have almost as little chance of success. For the highway they have no courage; and are generally deficient in that fashionable appearance and address, without which the picking of pockets can rarely be carried on to advantage. In this forlorn and hopeless state, the labouring peasantry of the fields of literature seem to have no alternative left, but to avail themselves of their numbers, and combine to prevent the venders from becoming also the growers of wisdom.

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Mr Mawman is too valiant, perhaps, to be moved by considerations of this nature; but we cannot help thinking that the scheme upon which he has fallen, is likely to be as unprofitable to his purse, as we conceive it to be perilous to his person. Upon cool calculation, we believe that experienced tradesmen will not deny that, for a fifth part of what his journey cost,—a few Sunday dinners, and the loan from his shop of Pennant's Tour, and Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account, he could have procured from some ingenious gentleman, who had no occasion to stir from his apartments in the King's-Bench, a town-made article of a more saleable texture than that which he has himself produced. But if Mr Mawman, from a singular squeamishness of conscience, should unreasonably insist that a country ought to be seen before it is described, and adventures met with before they are related, still he might have enlisted some literary recruit, who, with his knapsack on his shoulders, and the occasional aid of the waggon, (which even Mr Holcroft, when traveller for a London house, did not disdain), would have performed the march on very slender pay; and, though he could not have excited a reader's interest by the aristocratic disasters of a broken down chaise or a sulky driver, might have claimed his sympathy by as piteous a tale of torn shoes or empty pockets.

Upon the whole, we trust that Mr Mawman, from considerations of safety, humanity, and economy, will be moderate at least in the future use of his powers; and will not imitate the custom of these revolutionary days, by forcing a new constitution upon the republic of letters. Let him leave unviolated its old gradation of ranks, and not attempt, like emperors of ancient and modern notoriety, to unite every office in his own person. One of the worst of these made use of the following language, which, although it had but little influence on its hypocritical author, will, we hope, be adopted with sincerity by Mr Mawman, to whom it appears extremely applicable. *Se in parte curarum* (viz. bookselling) *experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subjectum fortunæ regendi cuncta onus: proinde, in civitate tot illustribus viris subnixâ, non ad unum omnia deferrent. Plures facilius munia reipublicæ societatis laboribus exsecuturos.*

The map prefixed to this volume is a faithful representation of what the latter contains. It resembles those which we find in books of post-roads; and is merely a longitudinal section of the map of Britain, embracing the two great roads from London to Glasgow. Over the eastermost of these, Mr Mawman posted with great rapidity, travelling frequently during the night, with a view, perhaps, to a more varied delineation of the country. Having extended his route to Inverary, about forty miles beyond Glasgow,

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gow, he returned by the west road, with equal speed, to publish his observations, having completed the tour within the limited period of a summer month. No travels, we will venture to say, of which an account was intended to be written, were ever performed in a shorter period. We know of nothing but the mail-coach that could have kept pace with our author.

Mr Mawman begins his book with the following classical and moral sentence:

'On the 10th day of July 1804, two citizens, designing to take a journey into Scotland, quitted their habitations in the heart of that metropolis, whose merchants, from its extensive commerce, are more important and more honourable than those of any other in the world.'

This outset could not fail of bringing to our minds the renowned and facetious traveller Mr John Gilpin. In rapidity of movement, the chariot-racer of the Poultry resembles very closely the equestrian hero of Cheapside. Both travellers took the same road; and, though Mr Gilpin's tour was considerably shorter than Mr Mawman's, yet it has the counterbalancing advantage of being recorded in rhime; so that the former may be compared to a highly finished miniature, and the latter to a cartoon.

The travelling companion whom Mr Mawman selected, was a fellow citizen, of whose name we are not informed, but who, we understand, was 'a linen-draper bold:' and in this also we admire our author's judgement; for, as *etiquette* requires that a modern tour should contain some account of the manufactures in the country where it is made, and as Mr Mawman may be supposed to have devoted his attention chiefly to the manufacture of books, it was prudent in him to select a coadjutor who could furnish notices of the rest.

'One of the best legacies,' says Mr Mawman, 'which man can bequeath to posterity, is a book enlivened with innocent merriment, or stored with information of solid and extensive utility.' Without disputing whether Mr Mawman's heirs would be of the same opinion, and whether he might not leave certain legacies which they would value more than even the property of his book, we shall take this sentence as the author's description of his own work, and proceed to consider what information or merriment it affords.

When Mr Mawman enters Cambridgeshire, through a corner of which the north road passes, he informs us that the county town is the seat of an university; and that, in his opinion, universities are highly beneficial to the cultivation of literature. This intelligence some fastidious readers may be disposed to undervalue as defective in originality. In a following page, however, they will be highly gratified to find, that Mr Mawman discovered *the*

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tombs in York-Minster to have been erected by no less a personage than *Death*. 'While we were here viewing the tombs!' says he, 'those trophies *erected by Death*, to record his triumphs over mortality,' &c. Of the Minster itself, he is pleased to observe, that if it were seated upon an elevation like that of Lincoln it would be seen at a greater distance. Upon his approach to Bawtry, Mr Mawman seems to have been terribly frightened by the sight of a malefactor hanging in chains; and exclaims against exhibitions of this nature, with a fervour which is truly poetical. 'Why,' he feelingly asks, 'should the innocent traveller be alarmed in the midst of security? Why should he be constrained *to feed, as it were, upon mangled bodies!* and to have his mind filled with a recollection of frightful crimes, and horrible cataſtrophes?' When near Stamford, he obligingly copies the following notice from his road-book: 'On the right hand is Burleigh Hall, a manſion highly celebrated for its pictures, which we regretted *we had not time* to inſpect.' He takes advantage, however, of this approximation, to fill ſeveral pages with a ſtory of the late Lord Exeter's ſecond marriage, which we recollect having ſeen in all the newſpapers at the time of his Lordſhip's death.

Mr Mawman is not very partial to Scotland. He quotes Churchill as ſoon as he croſſes the Border; and is pleaſed to obſerve, 'that the women of the lower claſſes are *univerſally* ſhort and brawny, with arid ſkins, and tarniſhed complexions, and without any pretenſions to beauty.' This is about as accurate as what he ſays of his not being able to find, in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, 'a ſingle female who buys this day's meal with the price of laſt night's ſin.' Such, however, is his confirmed impreſſion of the uglineſs of our Scottiſh damſels, that upon meeting a plump well-looking girl at Dumbarton, he could not reſiſt inquiring whether ſhe was not a native of England, and was delighted to find that ſhe had come as a ſervant from that happy region: It is alſo ſet down, that 'ſhe ſaid her mother would be very angry with her, if informed that ſhe walked without ſhoes and ſtockings!'

On entering the Highlands, Mr Mawman is ſeized with that fever of the ſpirits which is ſo apt to attack all touriſts who travel with a view to publication, and breaks out into the following turbulent description.

'Mountain after mountain deſtitute of trees, contiguous in poſition, but irregularly *rolling without intermiſſion* or apparent termination; and the wide lakes ſtretching boldly up the country, amidſt the branching chains of naked hills; yet in all the "rude and indigeſted" maſs, reſembling what we may ſuppoſe Chaos to have been (if we might believe

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leve the tales of poets) after the recent ſeparation of its elements, before the hand of Order had arranged it into its preſent ſymmetry, the eye finds nothing repellent, but is ſtruck with the ſimple magnificence of nature, exhibiting in ſublime variety her ſtupendous monuments.' p. 123, 124.

In ſpite of these raptures, however, he is candid enough to confeſs, that the country is not very much to his taſte; and contraſts the comforts of his town life, with the horrors of a Highland reſidence, in the true tone of a citizen,—or 'a waiting gentlewoman.'

'It will not appear ſurpriſing, that two travellers from the ſouth, living in the boſom of ſociety, with little knowledge of the amuſements of fiſhing, ſhooting, and hunting; and contraſting theſe *cold* and *laborious* ſports with the gay vivacity of routes, plays, and operas, and, above all, the melancholy ſolitude of theſe forlorn wilds with the irreſiſtible charm of literary intercourſe, alternately elegant and profound, ſhould be aſtoniſhed to find an enlightened perſon ſpending his entire twelvemonth in ſuch a ſituation, without the operation of ſome ſtrong motive, little leſs than compulſion.' p. 132, 133.

Of the Highland women, he ſpeaks with horror and compaſſion. 'Their features,' he ſays, 'were hardened by exposure to the cold blaſts of winter, and contracted into a moſt unſightly grin by labour, soured by want and miſery, and oppreſſed with deep dejection of ſpirits.'

Mr Mawman returns by the Falls of the Clyde, with which he appears, if he would confeſs the truth, to have been more terrified than delighted. He indemniſies himſelf, however, when he gets out of their hearing, by compoſing a magnificent parallel between the courſe of the river and the life of man. As this, we think, is the moſt ſplendid and elaborate paſſage in the whole volume, we beg leave to extract it entire for our reader's admiration.

'But this is only the infancy of the Clyde, whoſe courſe may be compared to that of human life. In childhood man is feeble; with his years his ſtrength increaſes, and he gives the promiſe of mighty powers; then comes the meridian of life, when, hurried by impetuous paſſions, and rouſed by war or the chaſe, he ruſhes through woods, and *down precipices*, with irreſiſtible impetuoſity: But anon, his ſpirits begin to flag, and his activity ſlackens; he moves with leaden pace, bending toward the grave, his body dull and heavy, "faſhioned for the journey;" and, finally, he is ſwallowed up in the ocean of eternity. So it is with the Clyde; here it riſes, ſilently and weakly creeping forward: in its progreſs, "ſwollen with many a tributary tide," it glories in its wild career, through foreſts, and over rocks, and down the ſubliméſt ſteeps; then does its force abate; and it moves with leſſened activity by Glaſgow, Dumbarton, and Greenock, till it is loſt in the boundleſs deep!' p. 193, 194.

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We look upon this as a very exquisite piece of fine writing. The author, to be sure, in the ardour of composition, seems at one time to have mistaken the man for the river, when he makes him rush through woods, and down *precipices*, with so noble an impetuosity; but the parallel is executed, upon the whole, with infinite spirit and fidelity; and the concluding view of the river passing by Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Greenock, is not only a noble picture of itself, but must be admitted to furnish a very striking similitude of the symptoms of human decrepitude.

At the Lakes, Mr Mawman is terribly fatigued, by a ride from Keswick to Buttermere; but his appetite is so much improved by the exercise, that he is pleased to inform us, as a very rare and memorable occurrence, that 'he fed, not for the sake of eating, but from the impulse of nature, and swallowed with avidity.' He laments, however, that no wine was to be procured, and that he and his friend were obliged to regale themselves with shrub and water. The extreme homeliness of this repast seems to have set them a-philosophizing in a very edifying manner.

'In the course of conversation we observed, that the Egyptians seem to have thought that land the best, which 'flowed with milk and honey;' that in the opinion of the Greeks, the internal use of honey, and oil applied to the surface of the body, were highly conducive to health; and that the Goths, our ancestors, devoured their meat half raw, supposing the juices to contain the best nourishment. In many respects, those who have preceded us were probably wiser than ourselves. We substitute tea for milk, prefer made dishes to plain meat, and load our stomachs with drugs and stimulants, instead of the wholesome diet which satisfied the simpler appetites of our uncourtly forefathers.' p. 225, 226.

Mr Mawman is much struck with the beauty and elegant manners of the mountaineers of Cumberland; and very philosophically supposes, that 'their manners have been improved by copying those of the travellers who visit their lakes!'

The homeward journey is very rapidly sketched. The author's heart warms when he comes in sight of the smoke of London; and he bursts out into the following invidious comparison.

'We reflected with delight on our change of prospect; we contrasted the cultivated fields, the winding rivers, the picturesque ruins, the fine cities, the mighty mountains, the extensive lakes, the tremendous waterfalls, the rich verdure of England, with the wild and sterile sublimity of the Scotish Highlands.' p. 289.

Now, we cannot submit tamely to this trait of English nationality. Mr Mawman may contrast the cultivated fields, and rich verdure of his country, with our heaths and hollows, as triumphantly as he pleases; but, for mighty mountains, extensive lakes, and tremendous waterfalls, we boldly challenge all England to produce

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produce any thing like our Highlands. On his entry into London, Mr Mawman admires the grandeur of Finsbury Square, and 'hides his head in the midst of smoke, of toil, and of heart-rending jealousies.'

Upon the whole, Mr Mawman may perceive, that we regard him as a very formidable rival in the department of literature; and that, in resenting his intrusion into a craft, of which we are freemen, we are perfectly aware of the talents by which he might endanger the livelihood and reputation of many of its most industrious members. We flatter ourselves, however, that he will be satisfied with the display he has now made of them; and that, as we have done our endeavour to extend the circle of his admirers, he will allow himself to be moved by our earnest remonstrances, and make it a matter of conscience, not to take the bread out of the mouths of his authors, nor to ruin the mystery of book-making, by combining it with a much more lucrative occupation.

ART. V. *An Inquiry into the System of National Defence in Great Britain.* By John Macdiarmid Esq. In Two Volumes 8vo. London. C. & R. Baldwin. 1805.

THE task of protecting a nation from external violence becomes gradually more difficult as mankind advance in improvement. While the supreme authority of government affords no sure protection to individuals, war is necessarily the chief occupation of the community. As all are liable to be called upon to repel the attack of an enemy, they insensibly become proficients in the use of arms; and being perpetually engaged in scenes of internal hostility, they acquire all those habits of mind which the circumstances in which they are placed so peculiarly require. As society advances, however, the necessity of acquiring warlike habits is superseded by the introduction of order and subordination; and those peaceful pursuits by which society is improved and adorned, rise to a corresponding degree of estimation and importance.

In these circumstances, men degenerate from the hardy virtues of their ancestors; the accomplishments of a warrior being no longer universally necessary, are gradually neglected; and the great body of the people become comparatively effeminate, and wholly incapable of resisting the attack of a resolute invader. For the partial evils thus resulting to society from a change so eminently beneficial, it is the business of the statesman to provide a suitable remedy. For this purpose there seem to be but two me-

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thods; either to enforce generally among the people the practice of military exercises, and thus forcibly to preserve a peculiar state of manners, after the circumstances from which they naturally arose have passed away; or to entrust the general defence to a distinct class of the community, to be maintained by the state, and to direct their whole attention to this important object. It is evidently impossible to determine in which of those two ways a nation is likely to add most materially to its effective strength, without first considering, whether the events of war depend principally on the respective numbers of the troops engaged, or on their relative courage and discipline. If superiority of numbers be the only condition necessary to ensure success, then, undoubtedly, those military establishments are the most perfect in which the greatest proportion of the population of a country is included. If, on the contrary, it is allowed, that the quality of the troops engaged is the essential consideration, then we are necessarily led to inquire, on what moral or physical qualities the perfection of military force depends, and how far those who are engaged in different pursuits, and occasionally devote a portion of their time to military exercises, can be expected to acquire the necessary qualifications of a soldier's character. It is difficult to conceive on what other principles an inquiry into the military policy of a state can be instituted, with the least prospect of conducting it to a satisfactory conclusion.

The design of the work before us, as stated by its author, is to inquire into the propriety of the system of national defence adopted in Britain; but so ingeniously has Mr Macdiarmid contrived to escape from his subject, that although we have carefully perused his performance, we can by no means pretend to lay before our readers any satisfactory account of his object, or his views. His genius, indeed, appears to delight in digression, and to wanton and exult in the agility of its transitions. The greater part of his work is filled with a variety of heterogeneous details, loosely patched together, with lame and incoherent reasonings; and we have found it altogether impossible to discern, in the succession of his thoughts, the slightest tendency to any fixed order or arrangement.

It certainly is not very easy to conceive how minute scraps of information, collected from the writings of authors who have laboured in the most opposite departments of literature, should, by any ingenuity, be made to centre in one point. An inquiry into the system of national defence adopted in Britain, would not, we should imagine, necessarily lead the writer to consult Reid on the Active Powers, Barrow's Travels in China, Thomson's Seasons, or the Report of a Committee on the State

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of the Coal Trade; nor, indeed, can we fully comprehend the importance of many of the facts which Mr Macdiarmid has gleaned from these unpromising sources. It does not appear to us that we shall enter upon the subject of the national defence with any very great additional advantage, by being previously informed, that, 'in China, our sailors have paid for a ham, and received a piece of wood so dexterously shaped and coloured, that the imposition was not suspected;' that at a Roman entertainment, 'an immense dish of nightingale's tongues was served up as one of the courses,' or that the 'goldsmith, the shoemaker, or tailor, who gives himself out as tradesman to some branch of the royal family, derives no peculiar protection, and generally no custom, from these patrons.' Facts, however, equally interesting and important, are interspersed throughout the whole of Mr Macdiarmid's voluminous performance. He has exerted himself with indefatigable industry, in bringing together an immense collection of details and reasonings, which, as they point to no determinate object, it is quite impossible in any way to connect or arrange, and which he has consequently jumbled together, in the most loose and incoherent manner. He seems, indeed, to have surrendered his mind entirely to the guidance of casual associations, and to have straggled, as chance directed him, into the most extraneous discussions.

His views on the subject of national defence, are founded on an absurd and incorrect analogy, and are on that account extremely partial, and liable indeed to radical objections, which, in the execution of his work, he has rather aggravated than lessened, by his constant propensity to the most prolix and unsatisfactory details. From the following passage, which contains the author's own exposition of his plan, the reader may form some conception of the general character and tendency of the work.

'A system of national defence (he observes) is to a nation, in regard to other nations, what a system of police is to an individual, in regard to the other members of the same community. The object of both, is to secure the persons and property of a people against violence.

'But as long as violence continues to be attempted, there are no other means by which the inhabitants of a country can assert either their national or their individual security, unless by either sacrificing, injuring, or exposing to injury, a portion of the persons and property which are intended to be preserved. But, in as far as a portion of the persons and property of a people is sacrificed to maintain the system of national defence, or the system of police, the end proposed by these systems is frustrated. They are intended to preserve from injury the persons and property of the community; and therefore, in

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in as far as they produce injury to these persons and this property, they counteract the very purpose for which they are established. A system of national defence, or a system of police, must therefore be perfect, in proportion as it affords the greatest security against violence, with the least injury to the persons and property which it is intended to protect.'

Mr Macdiarmid, after observing that, in general, the injury arising to nations from those establishments which they are compelled to maintain, in order to defend themselves from external violence, have tended very perceptibly to encroach upon their population and their wealth, next proceeds to state, that it is the object of his work 'to discover, if possible, the means of averting a similar ruin from Great Britain, and of rendering her secure against external violence, without diminishing her internal prosperity.'

It is perfectly obvious, that, according to this plan, the capital question, whether a system of national defence be adequate to the attainment of its proposed end, will be only considered incidentally, or along with other points which, in Mr Macdiarmid's estimation, are equally interesting and important. If it be true, indeed, that states have been frequently brought to ruin by applying too great a proportion of their resources to the maintenance of warlike establishments, then, undoubtedly, there are two objects which a wise statesman, in providing for the defence of a nation, will have equally in view. He will not consider security against external violence as the principal end to be attained: the arrangements which he may conceive necessary for the safety of the state, will be considerably modified by the apprehension of encroaching too deeply on her internal opulence and prosperity. The slightest glance at the records of history, however, we apprehend, will demonstrate that nations have been frequently ruined by the inefficiency, but never by the burden, of their warlike establishments; and that, in those few states where an efficient system of military policy has been adopted, its superiority has been invariably manifested by the humiliation of rival powers. It is, besides, perfectly clear, that where one state is solely intent on the improvement of its warlike resources, and renders its opulence and prosperity wholly subservient to that object, every neighbouring community must adopt a similar policy, however materially it may interfere with the progress of internal improvement.

The comparative stability which the kingdoms of modern Europe continued for such a length of time to enjoy, must be partly ascribed to that general similarity in their manners, and in the circumstances

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circumstances in which they were placed, which, by uniting them in close and intimate relations, subjected each to the constant observation of its neighbours, and rendered it impossible for any one to circumscribe, within its own frontier, the beneficial effects of any important discovery or improvement. Hence the maintenance of standing armies, (an improvement which, in the antient world, being confined to one particular state, was generally the forerunner of the most important revolutions), was introduced into modern Europe, not only without any of those signal changes which it had formerly produced, but without even materially deranging the mutual relations of its various states. Had England, however, been enabled, by her superior opulence and improvement, to maintain a standing army so early as the 12th or 13th century, it is extremely probable, that her monarchs must have ultimately succeeded in effecting the complete conquest of France. The first and only object, therefore, of every system of national defence, is security; and, until we are assured how far it is likely to attain this its essential end, all other considerations must be disregarded. Every rich nation has indeed a choice between two alternatives, either to provide a force competent to repel foreign aggression, whatever it may cost, or to hold its independence at the mercy of a more powerful neighbour. The object, therefore, which Mr Macdiarmid has in view, namely, to render Britain secure, without diminishing her internal prosperity, appears to us to be completely unattainable. Does he imagine that Britain can be defended without expense? Or, that the taxes which it may be necessary to impose for the maintenance of her warlike establishments, will not tend to obstruct her advancement in opulence? We are completely at a loss to conceive how he can propose to illustrate his subject by tedious discussions relative to national prosperity in general. It was his business merely to consider how far the system of defence adopted in Britain, was calculated to add to the effective strength of the nation. Instead of which, he has rambled into the most idle and unprofitable digressions.

In his first chapter, he enters into a variety of wearisome details, for the purpose of proving that Britain is rapidly advancing in wealth and improvement. Her agriculture, according to Mr Macdiarmid, is, '*as yet*, in its infancy;' and he shows, by the unerring calculations of political arithmetic, that nearly one half of the island is either completely waste, or 'cultivated in such a manner as to be extremely unproductive.' We are however informed, that its population, in proportion to its surface, is greater than that of any other country in Europe; and that, even in London, the births have begun to exceed the deaths.

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He next proceeds to point out the progress of commerce and of manufactures, and continues to enrich his subject with a variety of copious and minute details, from which it is impossible to make any selection, as they are all equally interesting and important, and as the catalogue of facts, which he exhibits, is already reduced to the naked simplicity of an index. We must therefore content ourselves with recommending them to the attention of the *patient* reader, reminding him, at the same time, that Mr Macdiarmid rather chooses to expose himself to the imputation of tediousness and prolixity, than run the risk, on subjects of such unquestionable importance, of being either inaccurate or obscure. Those who are disposed to indulge gloomy speculations respecting the future destiny of Britain, will surely lay aside their apprehensions, when they are assured by this author, that 'unless an earthquake should swallow up her soil, or a deluge sweep her inhabitants from its surface, her wealth cannot depart while her industry remains.'

Having thus clearly demonstrated, that the nation is daily adding to its riches, Mr Macdiarmid is naturally led to consider how far our *morals* are endangered by the accumulation of our wealth, as it is evident that no nation can be regarded as truly prosperous, which exhibits indications of relaxed morals. This inquiry is perfectly consonant, therefore, to the general plan of the work, and may be vindicated on the same principles as the *exposé* of our resources.

Mr Macdiarmid next proceeds to point out the effects of the division of labour on the state of society, and proves, in a most convincing manner, that Britain continues to improve 'in private virtue of every kind, in freedom, patriotism, good order, and religion.'

In the second chapter, 'the obstructions to the prosperity of Great Britain, arising from the means employed for her defence,' are considered. Had we been exempted, during the whole of the last hundred years, from the charges which were necessarily incurred in the maintenance of our fleets and armies, Mr Macdiarmid reckons, that, at the close of the 19th century, our wealth and population would have been double its actual amount. The calculations on which he founds this estimate are extremely curious and interesting. He supposes the nation to have been involved in war during one half of the last century; and that, during this period, 200,000 men have been, on an average, employed in warlike pursuits, and have consequently been lost to the productive industry of the country. This circumstance, he very naturally concludes, must have operated as a powerful check to her commercial advancement. The actual loss incurred, he estimates, very much

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much at his eaſe, at 400 millions Sterling. The number of men maintained by Britain, during the period of peace, he ſuppoſes, on a moderate computation, might amount to 50,000. He has neglected, indeed, to ſpecify in pounds Sterling the exact *quantum* of damage which productive induſtry muſt ſuſtain by the burden of ſupporting ſuch a force; but the omiſſion is not by any means material, as he aſſures us, that the aggregate amount of the loſs incurred during both the period of peace and of war, is exactly equal to the whole wealth and population exiſting in the iſland at the cloſe of the 19th century. All this ſpeculation is evidently as unmeaning as it is inaccurate and preſumptuous. If defence be neceſſary, it muſt be paid for; and it is as idle to calculate how much richer we ſhould have been, if we had not had to pay our ſoldiers and ſailors, as it would be to reckon up the treaſures that might have been accumulated, if we had not had to provide ourſelves with meat, clothes, and fire.

It would be uſeleſs to detain our readers with any account of the miſcellaneous ſtatements contained in the remainder of this chapter—the author's account of the Dutch and German Jews in London, or 'the general miſmanagement of the capital employed in the tenure of ſteelbow.' Suffice it to ſay, that having ſatisfactorily proved that the warlike eſtabliſhments of Britain tend to impede the even tenor of her progreſs to opulence, he is naturally led to inquire whether the evils which ariſe from this ſource can be either palliated or removed. After examining the various expedients which have been adopted or ſuggeſted for that purpoſe, he is decidedly of opinion, that they are all inadequate to the propoſed end; and he cloſes his ſpeculations on this ſubject, with the following profound reflection, which, we will venture to ſay, vies, in convincing clearneſs, with the plaineſt propoſition in Euclid. 'There ſeem to be but the two ways already mentioned' (he obſerves), 'in which a reduction of the public expenditure can take place; either by ſhortening the period of war, and thus taking off the expenſes of an extraordinary war eſtabliſhment; or by introducing ſuch alterations into the ſyſtem of defence, as that it ſhall afford all neceſſary ſecurity to the nation, and at the ſame time be much leſs expenſive.' In other words, Britain will effect a very material reduction in her annual expenditure, by making peace and diſbanding her armies, or by introducing ſuch alterations in her military eſtabliſhments *as ſhall be leſs expenſive!*

The poſſibility of ſhortening the period of the war, is conſidered in the fifth chapter, which is chiefly remarkable for the ingenuity with which our author compreſſes, within the compaſs of three pages,

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pages, a *ſhort* ſketch of the hiſtory of England, from the earlieſt period of which we have any authentic record, to the preſent times. His object is to ſhow, that it is an abſurd prejudice to conſider France as the natural enemy of Britain. He then proceeds to inform his readers, that, in the ſecond part of his work, he will conſider, whether the ſyſtem of national defence actually adopted in this country, is ſuſceptible of improvement. No ſooner, however, has he announced this pleaſing intelligence, than he commences a long diſſertation on the propriety of employing foreign aſſiſtance in her defence. And becauſe ſtateſmen have occaſionally formed raſh and imprudent alliances, and allies have frequently proved faithleſs and intereſted, he ſeems to condemn every ſpecies of convention between contiguous and independent powers. He thus wiſely reaſons from poſſible contingencies, or from the accidental errors of practical politicians, againſt thoſe ſure and unchangeable maxims of political ſcience, on which the whole fabric of European policy has been reared, and of which the experience of more than a century has amply diſplayed the ſalutary effects.

The fatal events which have ultimately terminated in the ſubverſion of that ſyſtem, ſo far from furniſhing any juſt argument againſt the principles on which it is founded, only prove, that the influence of unforeſeen accidents is not wholly excluded from the direction of human affairs. The deſtruction of the antient order of political ſociety in Europe, has not beſides been produced by anomalous or unſeen cauſes. We have already had occaſion to remark, that a ſuperiority of warlike ſtrength has been, in all ages, a ſure ſource of national grandeur and preeminence; and that thoſe ſtates who have adopted an efficient ſyſtem of military policy, have invariably triumphed over the independence of their neighbours. Reaſoning from this fact, it was natural to conclude, that a ſudden and unexpected increaſe in the military ſtrength of the moſt powerful and central nation in Europe, would lead to very important changes in the political relations of the European ſtates. Wherever a variety of independent communities are connected by contiguous frontiers, it ſeems eſſentially neceſſary to the ſecurity of each, either that there ſhould exiſt a perfect equality of individual ſtrength, or that the exiſtence of the weaker ſtates ſhould be guaranteed by the protection of their more powerful neighbours. That an equality of ſtrength cannot long ſubſiſt between a number of rival nations, is a propoſition too obvious to require illuſtration. One particular ſtate muſt ſooner or later acquire an undue aſcendancy; and then it is evident, that thoſe ſtates who are incapable of making an effectual reſiſtance by their ſeparate efforts, muſt oppoſe to the encroachments

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encroachments of their common enemy, the more formidable barrier of confederated strength. By forming alliances, and uniting their resources, they will at least secure to themselves one chance of deliverance from the rapacity of ambition. In the ancient world, those obvious maxims, though they seem to have been familiar to speculative politicians, do not appear to have been generally incorporated into the practical policy of nations; and indeed it is not easy to conceive how they could have been followed out in practice, while the arts and sciences were yet in their infancy; while those grand improvements on which the complicated scheme of modern policy depends for its energy and perfection, were unknown; and while the channels of political intelligence and communication must have been very irregular and uncertain.

As Mr Macdiarmid's views of foreign policy seem to hinge altogether on the following profound axiom, namely, that a great state should disunite itself from all external relations, and rest its security entirely on its own internal strength; we are surprised that he does not refer his readers, for a confirmation of his principles, to ancient history, where the system of foreign policy which he recommends was very strictly adhered to, and where its effects were, of course, very fully displayed. The nations of antiquity were connected by none of those alliances which Mr Macdiarmid so strenuously condemns; it does not appear that they even entered into confederacies for the purpose of checking the undue aggrandizement of any rising power. Hence they were all subjected, in regular succession, to the Roman yoke; nor does their partial and insulated hostility ever seem to have interposed a perceptible check to the increasing grandeur of that immense empire. The expedition of Hannibal into Italy forms, indeed, an exception to this general remark; and it is truly wonderful to consider, how, in that age of the world, such an extensive scheme of hostile operations could have been planned. We are at a loss indeed to determine, whether the power of Hannibal's extraordinary genius was most particularly displayed in the conception, or in the prosecution of his vast designs. In Greece, too, which was composed of a variety of petty and independent states, and which afforded, on that account, peculiar facilities for perfecting a system of foreign policy, it is easy to discern the rude and unformed image of the balancing system. With these exceptions, however, it may be generally observed of all the nations of antiquity, that they appear to have been ruined by their own blind improvidence. They never seem to have been roused from their dream of security, until every preparatory measure was completed for ensuring their destruction. Now, it is the peculiar boast

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boast of modern policy, by vigilance and circumspection, to provide against evils before they are imminent and formidable; and to check the undue encroachment of ambition, while it is yet practicable, by measures of timely and preventive security. This desirable end can only be effected by that general system of guarantee and alliance which Mr Macdiarmid so ignorantly condemns; for no other reason that we can discover, but because alliances have been often imprudently and rashly formed.

The remainder of the chapter is employed in examining the policy of subsidizing allies, and of employing foreign mercenaries; on which subject Mr Macdiarmid has accumulated a variety of most minute information, for the purpose of proving, that the fidelity of foreign mercenaries cannot be depended on; that they are dangerous to liberty; and that, consequently, they are a source rather of weakness than of strength. He next enters into a tedious dissertation on the propriety of augmenting 'the national resources applicable to defence,' which has really so little relation to the subject of his work, that our readers will readily excuse us for passing on to the consideration of the third chapter; the object of which seems to be, to point out the best means of rendering a people warlike. After a few observations on its multifarious contents, we shall take the opportunity of shortly stating what we conceive to be the most effectual mode of calling forth the warlike energies of a populous and opulent nation.

As we really cannot collect, from Mr Macdiarmid's reasonings, what is his precise object, we cannot pretend to follow him through all the digressions and declamations he has contrived to introduce upon this subject. The following paradox, namely, 'that a nation is rendered warlike by peace, and effeminate by war,' would have induced feebler minds to reconsider very scrupulously the nature of the facts from which so strange a position could have been deduced. In this respect, however, we are convinced that Mr Macdiarmid has acted with singular prudence; he had no doubt considered the danger of all useless experiments, and had wisely reflected, that his work, like Don Quixote's helmet, might have prematurely perished, had its merits been subjected to too rude a trial.

After examining how far a state of improvement affects the warlike character of nations, our author next proceeds to consider whether the influence of climate has any tendency to promote or impede the acquisition of martial virtues; and because the most opposite varieties of national character have been in different ages displayed under the same climate, he thinks himself warranted to conclude, that the influence of climate is a complete chimera. He does not seem to consider that the characters

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racters of nations are formed by the combined operation of moral and of phyſical cauſes; and that, in one age, the phyſical influence of climate may be felt without any controul; while, in a ſucceeding age, it may be modified and counteracted by the operation of more powerful moral cauſes. In an early ſtage of ſociety it undoubtedly predominates in the formation of the human character; but it is the glory of an enlightened government to counteract its debaſing influence, and to faſhion the manners under the forming hand of legiſlative ſkill.

Mr Macdiarmid next proceeds to obſerve, that different habits are abſolutely neceſſary to enable the mind to encounter, with intrepidity, different modes of peril. After a long diſſertation on boxing and bull-baiting, interſperſed with references to the Spartan manners, and to the fights of gladiators, he at length concludes, that there is no relation between ferocity and intrepidity, and loudly declares againſt all barbarous paſtimes. He is particularly impreſſive, however, when he attempts to prove the efficacy of religious opinions, in animating men in ſeaſons of danger. The religion of Mahomet (he obſerves) promiſes the believer, who dies in battle againſt infidels, the faireſt houris, and the moſt exquiſite luxuries of paradiſe. It was common with the Saracen youths to ruſh into the thickeſt of the battle, and to receive the mortal thruſts of their enemies with a ſhout of exultation, in the firm expectation of being immediately tranſferred to groves of eternal verdure, where pleaſures ever new were to be enjoyed in the company of the black-eyed virgins.' With reſpect to the Chriſtian religion, he obſerves, that by diſtinctly revealing the great truth of the immortality of the ſoul, and by ſpreading among the great body of the people, more poſitive information reſpecting their condition in a future ſtate of exiſtence, it has contributed to render men much more intrepid on the approach of death; and he is of opinion, that thoſe great truths could never have been 'impreſſed with ſufficient force on the minds of men, unleſs life and immortality had been brought to light by the goſpel.'

Mr Macdiarmid, however, muſt ſurely be aware that it is the policy of every commander to prevent his troops from dwelling on the thought of death, or from imagining that the buſineſs in which they are engaged has any peculiar tendency to bring them nearer to a ſtate of immortality. It may no doubt be very reaſonable and proper for a preacher to declaim about death, before a ſecure and ſleepy audience; but we cannot help imagining, that it would be an injudicious as well as an unuſual ſubject, for the addreſs of a general to his army. The

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idea of immortality, we are afraid, is too abstract and spiritual to interest the feelings of soldiers on the eve of battle; and we suspect they would listen with no great animation to the most eloquent lecture that could be delivered to them upon such a subject. The worthy chaplain, we conceive, would find it a difficult matter to make them rush desperately on the enemy, by the most captivating representations he could possibly make of the felicity that awaited them in another world.

Having now concluded our remarks on Mr Macdiarmid's performance; we shall venture to make a few observations on some of the important subjects of which we expected him to have treated. It appears to us, from the most careful survey of historical evidence, that a well disciplined army has, in all ages, been a sure foundation of political importance and power; and that such armies have been the immediate and efficient instruments in bringing about all those important revolutions in the affairs of mankind, of which history has preserved any authentic record. It is therefore very material to inquire, what are the peculiar qualities which characterize soldiers, and in what manner those qualities naturally arise out of the peculiar constitution which armies have in all ages invariably assumed. This inquiry seems to be particularly necessary, because the constitution of an army is not the fanciful device of any rash projector; its fundamental principles are grounded on the unchangeable qualities of the human mind, and have on that account remained stationary, amid the varying fashions, manners, and improvements of mankind; it has, indeed, grown out of the nature of society, and has been found, by the universal experience of mankind, to be well calculated to fit those who are trained under its regulations for the purposes of war.

The perfection of a military force consists undoubtedly in an instant and complete *obedience* to command; not indeed on a parade, where any man may, without much exertion, yield a ready compliance with whatever is enjoined him; but it is in braving every mode of peril and of death, in obedience to orders, that the military character is exhibited in its genuine perfection. It is therefore the object of discipline, not only to establish authority on a solid foundation, by training men to a constant familiarity with the peremptory decrees of martial law, but also to facilitate and secure obedience, by forming and bringing to maturity, those habits of mind which enable them, bravely and cheerfully, to confront danger. There arises, besides, in all armies, when they are engaged in the operations of war, and exposed to its perils, a peculiar system of manners, which very materially assists the effect

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of positive institutions. From the ardour of zeal, emulation and honour, which the situation in which soldiers are placed naturally produces, men are animated to unusual exertions of valour; they glory and rejoice in scenes, which the mind, in its natural state, contemplates with horror. It is only, also, in the perilous emergencies of real service, that a commander has an opportunity of securing the confidence, and conciliating the affections of his troops; by displaying courage, capacity, and presence of mind, in the midst of danger; by an unwearied attention to the comforts of the soldiers; by showing, on all occasions, a zealous attachment to the character and profession, and by cheerfully participating in all the dangers and privations to which they are exposed. By these means, all great generals have contrived to communicate to their troops an extraordinary portion of heroic zeal: By operating on their minds by peculiar incentives, they have given new energy to all those principles on which the excellence of the military character depends; and have called forth in their service, all those enthusiastic feelings which, in the hour of danger, animate the passions, and fortify the heart. Men who have been accustomed to this sort of training, very soon acquire all those moral habitudes which teach them fearlessly to expose themselves to danger; and it is entirely in those qualities of the mind that we are to look for that grand distinction which exists between soldiers and men employed in peaceful occupations; and for that superiority in the field, which has always enabled armies to discomfit and dispetse every species of irregular force which has been rashly exposed to their attack.

We conceive it, therefore, highly dangerous and impolitic in any state to rely for its security on the efforts of men who are not soldiers; who employ themselves only occasionally in acquiring mechanical dexterity in the use of arms, but who devote the chief portion of their time and attention to pursuits wholly different. It is impossible that men, placed in such circumstances, can ever acquire the characteristic habits and feelings of soldiers; and it has been found, by experience, that they have never been able to withstand the shock of a regular army. Whenever, therefore, the military force of any state is formed, either wholly or in part, of the unwarlike population of the country, who may, no doubt, be very easily assimilated in external appearance, but who never can acquire the real character of soldiers, it appears to us, that very great inconvenience and danger must be the inevitable result. In contriving a scheme of warlike operations, it is necessary very seriously to consider the nature and character of the troops who are to be employed. It would, no doubt, be

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extremely culpable in a commander, to waste the energies of a veteran force in feeble and indecisive warfare; but it would evidently lead to consequences still more disastrous, if raw and inexperienced levies were appointed to execute plans of bold and offensive hostility. But if the same army is composed of troops of the most opposite descriptions, how is it possible to combine their exertions in the prosecution of one object? The mode of warfare to be pursued, must either be adapted to the one sort of force, or to the other. The regular army must either be clogged by the incumbrance of an inferior force, and the general system of military operations consequently enfeebled; or troops, imperfectly disciplined, must be ordered upon services which they are not qualified to perform, and may involve, in their defeat, the discomfiture of the whole body.

To assimilate new levies to regular soldiers, and to range them in solid battalions in the same line, appears to us to be an experiment, in other respects, full of danger. In all the various and unlooked for fluctuations of affairs which may occur in a battle, the new levies might be left alone to sustain the fiercest onset; and on their steadiness the event of the day might possibly depend. By unforeseen accidents, they might be surrounded by perils, which it would require the collected fortitude of veterans to repel; they might be placed in positions which they could not maintain, or appointed to services which they could not perform. We cannot conceive how they would be at all competent to execute any scheme of offensive hostility, to the attack of any important post, which, being defended by veteran troops advantageously posted, might not perhaps be carried but by the reiterated efforts of desperate intrepidity. The danger, therefore, of conjoining new levies in any great proportion with regular soldiers, is manifest; and either in this case, or where the whole force of a country is composed of troops imperfectly disciplined, there is no chance of safety in case of invasion, but by resorting to a system of defensive warfare, which, in an open or level country, can never be ultimately successful, except through the misconduct of the enemy, and which, even in a country abounding in strong positions, is of very doubtful issue. With a force imperfectly disciplined to check veteran troops by a judicious combination of scientific movements; to choose positions so excellent as to bid defiance to the efforts of the most enterprizing enemy, and so to fortify and secure them, that superior gallantry should be only a passport to destruction, requires such skill and talents, and such a series of prosperous chances, that it would be quite unsafe for any state to hazard its safety on such a rare conjunction. The invading army might, by rapid

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rapid and daring hostility, render nugatory a system of defensive tactics; they might force their enemy to a battle in defence of some capital object: and how uncertain and precarious would such a contest be, if success depended on the persevering valour of inexperienced troops! It appears to us to be an incontrovertible position, that an invader, who possesses an army excellently trained and disciplined, and who is opposed by a force of an inferior character, will ultimately succeed in his views, if he is sufficiently rapid and enterprizing in his movements, so as to prevent both the spirit of adventure from languishing among his followers, and the invaded country from concentrating its physical strength; and we imagine, that where invasions in similar circumstances have not succeeded, it has only been because the hostile commander, instead of pursuing a system of bold and sanguinary hostility, has wasted the energies of his troops in feeble, indecisive, and protracted warfare, which, in his situation, leads more surely to destruction, than the blindest temerity. How quickly did Suwarrow subdue the Polish insurgents, by the celerity of his motions, and the unparalleled boldness of his designs!

It appears to us, that the events of war are determined by the united influence of discipline and tactics; and that, consequently, the perfection of the military art is produced by a combination of skilful tactics, with a high state of discipline. Were the distinction between those two sources of excellence well understood, and sufficiently attended to, it might, in our opinion, lead to a more clear elucidation of events which have been but imperfectly accounted for on general principles, and have, for that reason, led to much misconception. A general may have brought his troops to the highest possible degree of discipline, but he may not have matured a system of tactics to a corresponding degree of perfection: or, an unskilful general may be entrusted with the command of excellent troops, and may be opposed by a more skilful commander with an army inferior in discipline; and the superiority of tactics on the one side may more than counterbalance an inferiority of discipline. But are we from thence rashly to infer, that troops, imperfectly disciplined, are a match for a veteran force, or that discipline has not a most important influence on the decision of battles? It might be argued with equal propriety, that, in military operations, superiority of numbers is not a very material advantage, because it has been frequently more than counterbalanced by the talents of a skilful general. The object of a great commander, who is well acquainted with his troops, and who has gained their confidence, is generally to bring his enemy to battle on fair and equal terms; and, if that object cannot be

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attained, to attack even at a disadvantage. His decision must be guided entirely by the circumstances of the case; and, in forming a correct estimate of the comparative advantages of the enemy's position, and of the superior discipline of his troops, the event of the battle, and his own character for prudence and judgment, must wholly depend.

Hannibal had brought his troops to a most astonishing state of discipline, and he had chosen a mode of warfare admirably adapted to display their warlike virtues: he always endeavoured to bring his enemy to battle on equal terms; and the event was constantly in his favour. The excellence of Fabius was chiefly manifested in his tactics; he had formed a correct estimate of the character, both of his own troops and of that of the enemy; and he had chosen his defensive positions with such admirable judgment, that Hannibal, with all the advantages of a highly disciplined force, did not think proper to hazard an attack. The successful execution of those manœuvres, by which he contrived to elude the effects of superior discipline, class him among the greatest generals. His troops, however, having been manœuvred for some time in the face of an enemy, must have very nearly approached to the standard of discipline generally to be found in armies; yet, in the battle of Cannæ, it was seen how much inferior they were, in those qualities which constitute the perfection of soldiers, to Hannibal's veterans. Turenne, it is said, was chiefly remarkable for his tactical skill; the great qualities of Condé were displayed, in the day of battle, in inspiring his soldiers with heroic ardour and enthusiasm. In the civil wars, during the reign of Charles the First, there is no appearance of tactical skill; the battles were chiefly decided by discipline; and no man excelled Cromwell in the forming of troops. That singular character, by ingrafting military enthusiasm on religious fanaticism, brought the military character to unrivalled perfection, and decided the fortune of the war. The talents of King William were principally displayed in awakening the enthusiasm of his soldiers. It is remarked by Bishop Burnet, that he committed great errors of conduct, but that he possessed a heroical courage, which inflamed all about him. The obstacles which he surmounted in the defence of his country, would have staggered the resolution of common minds; and if the French generals had pushed their advantages with sufficient vigour, his resistance would have been ineffectual; but they allowed the war to assume a languid and indecisive character; and, in the mean time, the Dutch troops acquired, under the presiding genius of the Prince of Orange, all the warlike habits of soldiers, and were soon

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ſhon enabled to cope with their enemies in the field. Marlborough ſeems to have united in his character all the qualities of a great general; to have combined ſkilful tactics with the moſt admirable diſcipline; not only to have excelled in perfecting his inſtrument, but to have been equally dexterous in uſing it with the beſt poſſible effect. His troops appear to have poſſeſſed, in the greateſt perfection, all thoſe qualities which, in the hour of peril, render the heart impregnable to panic or diſmay; and they were led on to contend for victory and for fame, by commanders of tried courage and capacity, who exalted, by their own example, the ardour of their troops, to the higheſt poſſible elevation of heroic zeal. It was particularly remarked in the battle of Ramillies, how conſpicuouſly every officer of rank diſtinguiſhed himſelf; and even the Dutch general Monſieur Auverquerque, forgetting his years and infirmities, was ſeen everywhere in the hotteſt of the fire, encouraging and animating his men to prodigies of valour. Marlborough did not waſte the energies of ſuch troops in feeble and indeciſive hoſtility; his mode of warfare was entirely adapted to the nature and character of the force which he commanded, and was admirably calculated to diſplay the effects of ſuperior diſcipline; he hazarded every thing, and depended, in the day of battle, on the tried fidelity and courage of his ſoldiers, and on the ſure reſources of his own genius, for a glorious reſult. He was fettered, at the outſet of his career, by the timid caution of the Dutch generals; but, with ſuch a force, and ſuch a commander, it was prudence to attempt the boldeſt and moſt adventurous deſigns. The ſuperiority of Marlborough's troops, in ſteady and deſperate valour, was recognized by his enemies, who felt themſelves unable to withſtand them in the field, and frequently deſerted their ſtrongeſt poſitions at his approach. The whole hiſtory indeed of his campaigns, illuſtrates ſtrikingly, ſo far at leaſt as reſpects the relative diſcipline of the troops engaged, the theory of offenſive and defenſive war, and ſhows plainly how difficult it is to defend the ſtrongeſt poſitions againſt an army very highly diſciplined, and led on by a bold and enterprizing commander. The victories of Suwarrow are principally to be aſcribed to the aſtoniſhing diſcipline of his troops; they had attained to the higheſt poſſible perfection in all military qualities; and he accordingly employed them, almoſt entirely, in the boldeſt and moſt ſanguinary operations of offenſive hoſtility. The aſſault of Iſmail and of Warſaw, and the attack of the French poſition at Novi, are almoſt unrivalled in the annals of military enterprize.

As it appears, therefore, that the ſucceſs of military operations ſo materially depends on the diſcipline of the troops employed, nothing can be conceived more impolitic in any ſtate, than to rely

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for its defence on a force of inferior quality, and thus voluntarily to relinquish one of the requisite conditions either for acting offensively with effect, or for insuring the speady discomfiture of an invading enemy. The independence of such a state, when attacked by a regular army, though not exposed to certain destruction, must yet rest on a very insecure foundation. Its defence may no doubt be rendered possible by a strong barrier of fortified towns, by the nature of a country abounding with strong positions, and by the unskilful management of the invading army. If a commander, with a force trained and disciplined, after beating his enemy in the field, does not push his advantages with rapidity and vigour; if he allows them to recover from the consternation of his first victories; to recruit and reanimate their broken and disheartened troops; to secure their strong-holds; and to consolidate the physical strength of the country against him, his ultimate ruin is certain. He ought never to allow his men to rest in pursuit of a routed foe; neither ought he to stand wavering and deliberating before passes and strong positions, but to appal his enemy by the rapidity of his movements, and the boldness of his designs; always considering, that the most sanguinary and desperate hostility is his surest policy, and that the blindest temerity does not lead more surely to destruction in the end, than a system of protracted and indecisive warfare. As it appears to us, therefore, that a regular army, skilfully commanded, has always effected the ruin of a country defended by a less effective species of force, we are inclined to think, that a nation ought to rest its security solely on a regular army; and, if it be thought expedient to arm the population of the country, that it should form a force wholly and decisively irregular; not gathered into battalions, nor appointed to shock with the enemy in the regular conflict of the field. In a country especially which possesses few positions, either strong by nature or fortified by art, and arrived at such a state of improvement, as to afford every facility for internal communication, it has always appeared to us, that the main reliance should be placed upon a disciplined and disposeable army, and that it would be a rash and hazardous experiment to collect the unwarlike population into gross and solid masses, and expose it in the front of the battle to the charge of a practised assailant.

Such is the opinion which we are disposed to form on the general question as to the best means of defence, considered without reference to the actual condition of any particular country. We are by no means prepared, however, to say that it is applicable at all points to the present situation of Great Britain; or that there is, in this particular case, so essential a difference between our volunteer and our regular force, as to make us wish to see

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the former superseded in a great measure by the latter. Our volunteers are not merely an armed multitude; they have been embodied for a number of years, and have attained, in many instances, to a very respectable state of discipline and knowledge. The money which has been bestowed upon them might perhaps have provided a more efficient and serviceable army; but this was a voluntary expenditure; and half the sum raised by compulsion would have been felt as a serious oppression. Our volunteers, then, are too good to be parted with; and are certainly more fit for service than any other form of an armed population can possibly be.

This, however, is but one half of the question; our volunteers, as they now are, are not only much better than an armed multitude, but our regular army, we are afraid, is something worse than the regular army of our opponents, and does not seem to possess all those requisites which entitle it to be contrasted with forces of another description. It is not being enlisted in a regular corps that can make a man a soldier—it is not receiving daily pay—nor appearing twice a day on the parade—nor being expert at the manual exercise, and familiar with the eighteen manœuvres. It is the experience of danger—it is a practical knowledge of the business of war—it is real service in the face of an enemy. Now, it is obvious, that there is but a small proportion of our regular army which can boast of this qualification. We have 16,000, perhaps, who were in Egypt, and about as many more who were in Holland, and in the West Indies; but the great body of our army has no military experience; and will be as new to actual service as the militia and volunteers, with whom it has become usual to contrast them. All they can boast of at present, then, is, the exactness of parade discipline, and superior expertness in those exercises, in which it is not disputed that volunteers may be made to rival them. When the necessity of fighting comes, we have no doubt that they will rapidly acquire all the other requisites of the military character: but the volunteers, if they are called into action, will acquire them also; and if they start with the same advantages, as to mere bodily discipline and activity, they will probably acquire them as rapidly. A volunteer completely drilled, we take it, is fit for any thing that a regular soldier is fit for, who has never seen service; and, if they are sent into the field together, will ripen into a veteran as soon as his comrade. It does not appear to us that it will impair his martial ardour in any considerable degree, that, after he has learned all that he can learn out of actual service, he should work at a peaceable trade, instead of going about idle, till the occasion for service arrives; or, that he will fight the worse

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worse upon that occasion, for having a home and a family to fight for.

These considerations make us hesitate a good deal, about the expediency of any measure that may deprive us of a force that has been provided at a great expense, both of money and of time, and which is by no means so decidedly inferior to our regular army, as seems to have been sometimes imagined; at the same time, we are very sensible, that the constitution of many of the volunteer corps is such, as to render it extremely doubtful whether it would be prudent to bring them into actual service. They contain many, whose physical qualifications, and inveterate habits, unfit them for the labours of actual warfare; and very many, who would do more valuable service to the country in other occupations. Those who are pointed out by nature as the fighting men of the country, are by no means to be all found in the ranks of the volunteers; and there are many there, who cannot be classed under that denomination. Some reduction, therefore, of the volunteer establishment, would probably be advantageous; and we have no doubt that still greater benefit would result from the practice of training a larger proportion of them to the exercises of irregular warfare. They should be carefully exercised in firing at marks, and in suddenly dispersing and assembling in small bodies, as well as in accomplishing considerable journies, and providing for their shelter and subsistence, in cases of emergency;—acting in this manner, in subserviency to the regular forces, they might be the means of the most dispiriting annoyance and fatal obstruction to the enemy; and secure a decisive victory, without ever encountering the hazard of a ruinous defeat.

Our limits will no longer permit us to enlarge upon these interesting questions; but it is proper to observe, that there is one whole branch of the inquiry, which has been unaccountably neglected, in the whole of the discussions with which the country has lately been agitated. We allude to the education and training of the officers, by whom the army, whether regular or irregular, is to be commanded. The two cardinal virtues of a military force, we have already stated, are Discipline and Tactics. The former, relates chiefly to the men—the latter, to the officers. Actual warfare is, undoubtedly, the best school for both; and the same circumstances, which have prevented our regulars from acquiring all the habits of veteran soldiers, have no doubt thrown formidable obstacles in the way of the professional accomplishment of their commanders. Something, however, may certainly be done to promote these accomplishments;—and something more than has yet been undertaken, or apparently meditated, by our Government. Perhaps the reform should be begun by the decisive measure of prohibiting

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hibiting the sale of commissions; and establishing, throughout the country, a variety of military academies, where the youth might be regularly trained to a scientific knowledge of the principles of their profession. A general taste for such acquisitions might also be promoted, by the example of a few persons in eminent situations; and by the endowment of professorships, for the different branches of military science, in most of the universities. Encouragement should also be given to young men who would go abroad as volunteers into foreign services; and honours and promotion made the reward of those who brought back certificates of their gallantry and proficiency. We throw out these hints with diffidence: but, in the present crisis of our affairs, it appears to us that something ought to be done, to put us on a footing with a nation of warriors, and to give the bravest people upon earth the full use of its bravery.

ART. VI. *Considerations arising from the Debates in Parliament, on the Petition of the Irish Catholics.* By Sir John Throckmorton, Bart. London, 1806.

THE subject to which this pamphlet relates, is one which has, during late years, occupied in a very considerable degree the attention of those who think, and of those who do not think, among British politicians. About a twelvemonth since, in particular, it received from both houses of Parliament, that full and serious discussion which was due to the magnitude of the interests involved in it; to the solemnity of a petition proceeding from a fifth part of the population of our islands; and to the authority of those statesmen by whom it was advised and supported. The prayer of that petition was at that time refused; and it is probable, that this question will not come again under the consideration of the Legislature for some years to come; but recur it certainly will, at some period or other, and probably before any material change can be effected in the circumstances under which we now contemplate it. Such, indeed, must have been the opinion of the author of the pamphlet before us, which, being published after the heat and ardour of the conflict are over, seems rather to court the attention of thinking men, than the curiosity and prejudices of the multitude.

We may venture to lay it down as a general proposition, that all restrictive laws, which exclude certain classes of men from political stations, are, in their immediate operation, oppressive and impolitic. That the classes excluded are sufferers, is abundantly

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antly clear; and evils suffered by individuals are in some measure evils suffered by the public, if it be true that the public is composed of individuals. But, were we even to consider the state as somewhat different from those who compose it, still the exclusion of useful talents must be as real a loss to the political body, as the locking up a part of his capital would be to the merchant. The genius, knowledge, skill, bravery, and industry of individuals, are, in the strictest sense, parts of the public stock; they are items in the account-current between nation and nation, whether the page relate to arts or to arms. Do we laugh at the hereditary casts of the old Egyptians, which kept the son of a cobler to his father's awl, and checked a passion for laying bricks in the young basketmaker, like felony or sacrilege? Do we pride ourselves in that liberal policy, which has thrown open the gates of honour to the brave and prudent of all ranks? and can we deny, that any restrictions by which men are forcibly drawn from their natural bent, any barriers, which shut out the prospects of honourable reward, are naturally injurious to the commonweal? The seeds of genius, which, with time and opportunity ripen into the statesman and the commander, are scattered indiscriminately among those of one religion or of another. The chance of birth might have thrown him who fell at Trafalgar, without the pale of protestancy, and consequently beyond the possibility of obtaining command; or compelled the illustrious orator whose eloquence maintained the Catholic petition, to have been himself a mute and inglorious suitor for the relief which it claimed.

If this be true, and nothing appears to us more undeniable, it follows, that such restrictions, if they can be defended at all, must be defended, not as beneficial in themselves, but as the means of purchasing some essential good, or warding off some evil, more important than those which they bring with them. The burthen of proof, therefore, lies wholly on those who contend for keeping them up. General declamations against the love of useless change, and on the folly of attempting to mend what is good already, will not do here; not even the proverb, 'Stava ben, ma per star meglio, sto qui;' for, in fact, we are not well as we are; it is a real and positive loss to the community, as well as to individuals, which the laws in question have occasioned, and which it is at least worth considering if we cannot remove. The matter stands, therefore, as we request the reader to observe, on grounds wholly distinct from the case of the Catholic petition, considered as such; for, had the question never been agitated, or even had the people of that persuasion been indifferent to the subject, as some contend them to be, we should

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should still have deemed the abrogation of those restrictive laws which affect them, a salutary measure for the commonwealth, unless some very strong reasons could be shown for their continuance.

We feel therefore, undoubtedly, previous to any particular inquiry, a certain unwillingness to acquiesce in the present order of things, because it can at best be only a less evil than the alteration of it would be. Nevertheless, we will not venture to say, that situations may not be conceived, in which the legal restrictions which affect the Catholics of Ireland might be justified on strong grounds of expediency. The question of right, which has been too much battled on both sides, is not, we think, very distinct, nor likely to solve the difficulty. Legal right there can plainly be none, in those who ask the Legislature for relief. A moral right to the redress of grievances all subjects possess; and the correlative duty of the government is manifest. We must, therefore, inquire, whether a grievance, that is, an evil without any corresponding public good, has been sustained; and thus the question of right coincides with that of expediency. What, then, were the circumstances which led to the disabilities of which the Catholics complain in Ireland, and how far do they exist at this time?

The conduct of our ancestors towards Ireland is not precisely that part of their polity which we contemplate with the greatest pleasure. Founded in unjust usurpation, their dominion was maintained by a scheme of proceeding, in which folly and oppression went hand in hand together. The country was parcelled out among a few English adventurers, who speedily became not less barbarous than the natives, whom it was their chief care to exterminate, while their feuds and rebellions prevented every benefit which the policy of government might, from time to time, have communicated to so extensive a portion of the empire. Hence, neither by conquest or submission, as has been well shown by Sir John Davis, had Ireland become fully subject to the English Crown, till the vigorous administration of Elizabeth overpowered the last struggle of Irish independence. In this infirm state of things the Reformation was introduced into Ireland; not called for, as in England, and still more perhaps in this country, by the course of national opinion, but arbitrarily imposed upon a superstitious and ignorant people by a Government which they already detested. There cannot, perhaps, be any principle more clearly pointed out by justice and good sense, with respect to religious establishments, than that the opinions of the majority, supposing that majority to be indisputable, should decide on the particular sect by whose ministers they are to be instructed, and the expenses

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expenses of which they are to defray. But, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, as we have seen it asserted, there were not sixty Protestants in Ireland; and the progress of this infant church, with all sorts of protecting bounties to its friends, and every discouragement to its adversaries, was of the most unpromising aspect, till the colonists of James I., and the soldiers of Cromwell, supplied the place of native converts. It seems, indeed, a question, whether the anomalous system of the church of England, differing so materially from the Catholic in doctrine, and as widely from the other Protestant churches in discipline, though proved, by experience, to be admirably adapted to the country where it was framed, be equally fitted for any other people. In Scotland, in Ireland, in America—wherever, in short, the experiment has been tried, it has certainly failed of success; and perhaps the ecclesiastic, like the civil polity of England, possesses a racy flavour of its native soil, which, by nations of different temperament and prejudices, may rather be admired than imitated. Be this as it may, the people of Ireland adhered to the Romish communion; and various penal laws were enacted during the reign of Elizabeth, which, however, like the corresponding statutes in England, neither impaired the rights of property, nor took away from recusants their seats in Parliament.

In the reign of Charles I. broke out that memorable rebellion, during which, according to Sir W. Petty, 616,000 lives 'were wasted by war, famine, plague, hardship, and banishment;' and two thirds of the superficial contents of the island were forfeited by the original proprietors. Whatever might have been the provocations to this contest, it was carried on by the insurgents with a mixture of wickedness and infatuation to which there is hardly any parallel in history; and, from the era of their subjugation, severer treatment from an alarmed and exasperated government was at least the natural reward of their unsuccessful appeal to the sword. Few statesmen have ever been placed in a situation more embarrassing than the Duke of Ormond, in the adjustment of Irish affairs after the Restoration. The lands of the Catholics had already passed, by the title of conquest, into the hands of Cromwell's soldiery; conflicting claims were set up on every side; some stood on parliamentary compact, some on royal promises, some on personal desert; the innocent were swept away by general presumptions of guilt, and the guilty saved by fictitious proofs of their innocence. Out of this chaos of perplexed and jarring interests arose the act of settlement,—the seal and ratification of a transfer of property, amounting to near eight millions of acres, which passed from Irish to English, from Catholic to Protestant dominion. It is not conceivable,

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ceivable, that even a race of Gentoos should submit to such losses without the wish to retrieve them; and it may be guessed what effect they would have on Hibernian temperaments. Accordingly, during the short-lived triumph of James II. in Ireland, his Parliament, in which only six Protestants are recorded to have sat, passed a law, against the inclination of that prince, for the unqualified repeal of the act of settlement. Victory, on the banks of the Boyne, once more decided, that Ireland must submit to Protestant rulers; and the keenness of the struggle seemed to impose a necessity upon the conquerors, of preserving what their swords had won, by more harsh coercion of the vanquished than before.

The severe laws against Popery date from the age of William III.; that, in particular, which excludes the professors of that religion from Parliament, was passed, we believe, in the third year of his reign. It is usual for the advocates of Catholic privileges to charge these enactments upon the religious bigotry of our ancestors, and an illiberal antipathy to the professors of an adverse sect. We see no grounds for this imputation. The Protestant ascendancy of Ireland cared very little about purgatory and the seven sacraments. They acted upon principles simply political; and their severity was not derived from polemical rancour, but from the two great springs of bitterness, which turn the milk of human nature into gall,—revenge and fear. They knew what the vanquished had done in the hour of success; they looked at their numbers with dread, and sought to strengthen the barriers of law against the rude arm of physical power. The system of the Popery laws, indeed, in Ireland, must be looked at as a whole. In their present state they are folly, caprice, feeble and petulant tyranny. As they stood originally, they were vigorous and consistent; the firm, well-rivetted fetters of conquest, locking into one another, and stretching down the captive giant to the floor. For more than half a century after the revolution, the appellation of 'the common enemy' was regularly given to the Catholics, not in loose declamation, but in the legitimate and deliberate language of Lord-Lieutenants and Parliaments. The struggles of contending factions never waked them from their lethargy, nor raised them from their abasement; and, while the names of liberty and patriotism were on the tongue of every Protestant, it was never conceived that three fourths of the people could either share in the one, or be the object of the other. We think it will be found, that the Catholics are hardly named as a distinct body, throughout the whole political writings of Swift. Indeed, their first resuscitation is said to have taken place during the viceroyalty of the Duke of Bedford in 1757, when they ventured to present an address to the Castle.

The great object of this oppressive policy was undoubtedly to

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to keep under a powerful enemy; the next was probably to force him over to the Proteſtant ſide. It might, a century ſince, be very plauſibly ſuppoſed, that ſelf-intereſt, working upon a large claſs of men, would get the better of conſcience; and that a Catholic, excluded from political honours, cut off from many even of the common rights of property, and rendered a ſlave and alien in his country, would either quit that country, or the faith, which made the country a ſtepmother to him. The fact, however, has turned out, that Proteſtantiſm has made no converts; and as a great majority of the people have adhered to their original tenets under ſuch diſcouraging circumſtances, the eſtabliſhed church of Ireland may perhaps be conſidered as an experiment which has completely failed. No rational man can look to a time, within any limits to which human policy extends, when the Catholic religion will not prevail in Ireland. At the ſame time, we are far from thinking this a fortunate, or even an indifferent circumſtance, in the ſtate of that country. Few nations have had a more decided intereſt, politically ſpeaking, in the progreſs of one ſect above another, than Great Britain in the growth of the reformed faith on the weſt of St George's Channel. But ſhe has not been very ſucceſsful in her method. Laws, penal or reſtrictive, are but rough medicine; and if the diſeaſe is incurable, it is ſome conſolation to have diſcarded the phyſician.

The ſurpriſe which many worthy Proteſtants may feel at the ſlow progreſs of their own opinions, in a country ſubject to the ſame laws as England, will probably be abated, when they know the actual ſtate of the Iriſh hierarchy. We have now lying before us an account preſented to the Houſe of Commons in 1803, containing the number of pariſhes in Ireland, and of the benefices or unions of pariſhes into which the ſame have been diſtributed and reduced, and alſo of the churches and glebe-houſes which actually exiſted in 1791. This document it may be worth while to lay before our readers in a note, * as it exhibits a ſtriking view of the aptneſs which the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of Ireland ſeems to poſſeſs for diffuſing religious inſtruction throughout the maſs of the people. Since the year 1791, it is fair to obſerve, ſums of money to a conſiderable amount have been granted by the Board of Firſt Fruits for the purpoſe of rebuilding churches; but, even if the money has been duly laid out, the number muſt ſtill fall ſhort of that of benefices. The following paſſage from Lord Redeſdale's ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords, which we quote from Sir John Throckmorton's pamphlet, p. 112, is the commentary on this ſtatement.

'There are about 2400 pariſhes, which have been thrown, by unions, many of them very improper, and some very recently made, into about 1100

* See following page.

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1100 benefices, some of which extend over vast tracts of country. Many of the parishes have no church, which was the case with a parish in Dublin, said to contain 20,000 inhabitants. Many of the benefices have no glebe, the ancient glebe having been confounded with, and lost in, the lands of lay-proprietors. Many more of the benefices have no glebe-house, so that the clergyman has no means of residence within his parish: Unfortunately, too, benefices in this deplorable state have been deemed the most desirable—a parish without a church, without a glebe-house, and, an almost necessary consequence, without a Protestant inhabitant.'

The true proportion which exiſts between the eſtabliſhed and tolerated religions, is a *deſideratum* in the ſtatiſtics of Ireland. The ſtatements hitherto given to the public, differ as much from one another, as might be expected from party prejudice acting upon perfect ignorance of the truth. Some warm enemies of the Catholic claims aſſert the Proteſtants to compoſe two fifths of the population.

Dioceſes.	*Pariſhes.*	*Benefices, or Union of Pariſhes.*	*Churches.*	*Glebe Houſes.*
Armagh	103	69	69	51
Dromore	26	24	27	14
Down and Connor	114	65	76	23
Derry	48	43	51	33
Raphſe	31	25	32	17
Clogher	41	40	49	26
Kilmore	39	30	36	9
Ardagh	37	24	29	10
Meath	224	99	77	29
Dublin	209	86	82	35
Kildare	81	31	28	9
Leighlin and Ferns	232	79	71	6
Oſſory	136	56	36	15
Caſhell and Emly	155	47	35	16
Waterford & Liſmore	106	44	30	8
Cloyne	137	69	51	5
Cork and Roſs	127	64	53	14
Limerick	176	88	47	14
Killaloe	138	50	38	4
Tuam	89	23	24	2
Clonfert	60	15	14	2
Elphin	75	29	26	5
Killala and Achonry	52	20	20	8
	2436	1120	1001	355

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population. Mr Newenham, an advocate of those claims, reckons the whole at above five millions, of which he allows only one to the Protestants of all denominations. These are the two extremes; and probably both differ from the fact. It is to us a matter of surprise, that the bill which has lately passed for ascertaining the population of Ireland, makes no provision for clearing up this problem in political arithmetic. Whether a man goes to church or to mass, is, we believe, as well known as the number of his children or his windows, and might occupy a column in the return with as much convenience.

The author of the present pamphlet is well known as a Catholic gentleman of large fortune and ancient family: he is still more honourably distinguished for a degree of liberality and moderation, that all members of that body, even in the present age, are not found to possess. These qualities are apparent in the work before us: we meet not only with the utmost temper in managing the discussion, but with candid concessions with respect to his own party. We regret only, that his moderation has sometimes given an air of tameness and languor to his style; and that sound and sensible arguments want that force, which is derived from lucid arrangement and nervous expression. Men, who are conversant with a subject in all its bearings, are apt to put their thoughts together more loosely, than those who are compelled to reduce into method the notions they have, as a means of enriching their minds with more. The reasonings also, to which a Catholic is likely to recur, are not exactly those which tell most with a person unbiassed towards that persuasion. The aspersions thrown upon the tenets which he believes, naturally lead him to repel such charges by proofs of the loyalty, quietness, and morality of their professors. These, however, extend further than we should think necessary for the decision of the present question. The sole point is, whether Catholics shall be eligible to Parliament, and capable of enjoying, by the royal choice, some great offices in the state. If it can be made out, that no danger can, with any reasonable probability, be supposed to arise from this to the civil or religious establishments of the country, the matter is at once settled. But it is by no means incumbent upon *us* to prove, that the lower orders of Irish Catholics are not possessed with a bigotted antipathy against the Protestants; that they are not abjectly submissive to their priests; that among those priests there is not still lurking the leaven of spiritual usurpation;—because, if all these charges are true, and in some part we believe them to be true, they are still irrelevant to the precise point at issue. The admission of a few Catholic gentlemen to parliament, can hardly aggravate that bigotry and submission to priestcraft, which naturally springs from intellectual

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tual degradation. The removal of invidious distinctions cannot inflame the passions of those who smarted under the feelings which they excited.

There are, it seems, two, and only two mischiefs, which can be distinctly presented to the mind of one who defends the present restrictions, as probable consequences of their repeal: he may dread the predominance of a sect adverse to that which is established, in the parliament, or in the cabinet: he may expect to see a Catholic majority in the legislature, or Catholic councils in the executive government. It is for such a person to weigh, whether, so long as the people of Great Britain, whose representatives exceed, five or six times over, those of Ireland, adhere to their present faith, there can be any remote possibility, against which a rational man would think it necessary to guard, that a small minority might, by means of a popular assembly, overturn any part of the constitution; and, in case the people of Great Britain should ever relinquish their present mode of thinking upon theological questions, whether the established church ought, upon any sound principle, civil or religious, to survive the opinions of those for whom it was designed. The influence of Catholic advisers of the Crown may, with more plausibility, be brought forward as a contingent mischief; because, in the two reigns which preceded the Revolution, a project of overwhelming at once the liberties and the Protestant church of England, was certainly the systematic object of a profligate and tyrannical court. The Sovereign, however, must, by the Act of Settlement, be in communion with the established church; a provision, in our minds, unexceptionable and convenient, but which affords no argument, though it has often been absurdly adduced, for the exclusion of dissenters from any offices of which subjects are capable. But a king, it will be said, may, like Charles II., preserve a dissembling conformity with the establishment, while he meditates its subversion. Be it so: what stronger argument can be brought against the efficacy of exclusive tests? If a King can be protestant in form, but not in substance, what security can we have against the employment of ministers, equally insincere, equally prevaricating with himself? Though Clifford shrunk from the test imposed in 1672, were Lauderdale and Sunderland less apt for the work of tyranny? Did zeal for any sort of religion animate Buckingham and Shaftesbury? Did not a disguised attachment to the church of Rome lurk in the heart of Arlington, while tests and declarations were upon his lips? It is not in the barriers of restrictive law, it is not in the seal of solemn engagements, that we must look for security against such treachery as the cabinet of the second Charles concealed. If the

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general state of religious tolerance, which certainly borders upon indifference, did not render the supposition of a British Sovereign, who should risk his throne, like James II., for the sake of Popery, more extravagant than the dreams of a feverish man, it would be sufficient to rely on the strength of the constitution; not struggling, as under the Stuarts, against undefined and lawless prerogative, but invulnerable, we trust, by any force which the most despotic prince could employ; secured by annual sessions of Parliament, by annual Mutiny-acts, and, still more, by popular sentiment and long habits of freedom, against those violent and illegal stretches of power, which the patriots of former ages victoriously resisted.

This is the simple statement of the question, which, if presented to the mind without any superfluous and irrelevant declamation, leaves, we think, no room for hesitation as to the admission of Irish, and consequently British Catholics, both to the Legislature and to official stations. There are, however, some other topics, which it is worth while to notice, and which have been treated by Sir J. Throckmorton with considerable knowledge of his subject, as well as good sense. With respect to the oath of supremacy, after admitting, that every state, in the words attributed to Lord Ellenborough, claiming and exercising independent powers of sovereignty, possesses the right of binding its subjects by law, not only paramount to, but exclusive of any authority or controul exercisable by any other state whatsoever; he justifies the Catholics in their refusal of this oath, because they conceive that something more is required by it, than an acknowledgement of the independent authority of the state; namely, a renunciation of the power of spiritual jurisdiction, which they believe to reside in the Roman pontiff. To define this jurisdiction, he admits, in a manner that shall preclude all misconception, is not easy; and indeed the notion of supremacy is, we believe, equally vague, as applied by Catholics to the Pope, or by the language of English law to the King. The following observations are just and candid.

'Perhaps, it may not be well understood, when the King is talked of as the "supreme head" of the Established Church, what is meant by that supremacy. No distinct idea, I am confident, is entertained of it; at least, no such idea I have been able to collect from conversation, or from books. Be it then allowed, that the primacy of the Roman bishop *may be* liable to some misconception. When it is said, that the King is the sovereign Lord of all his subjects, of whatever degree or estate they be, ecclesiastical or temporal; that, in virtue of this sovereign rule, no foreign power, as has been observed, shall, or ought to, have any superiority over them; that, as the political head over the Church

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Church and all its members, he convenes, prorogues, dissolves, regulates, and restrains synods or convocations, appoints or recommends to bishopries and certain other ecclesiastical preferments; that the judicature of ecclesiastical causes is within the sphere of his cognizance; that, though he challenges no authority or power of ministry of divine offices in the Church, and consequently can convey no power properly spiritual, such as is the power of order in the Episcopal ministry, yet that the collation of external diocesan jurisdiction attaches to his prerogative: when, I say, on the subject of the King's supremacy, these positions only are advanced, it seems to me (though I plainly perceive that I am got out of my depth), that nothing more is conceded, than what, in ancient time, was due to, and exercised by, the imperial Crown of this realm; than what was considered as an essential portion of the royal prerogative in France, and in other Catholic countries; and what, by the Concordat, the present French ruler exercises; and what, finally, is not adverse to, and destructive of, that primacy of the Roman bishop, properly understood, which has been, and may be exercised in well regulated states.

'I must repeat, that my knowledge of these matters is very limited: but should the question be as thus stated, it must be admitted, that the alarms, on both sides, are founded on misapprehensions; that Protestants fear the introduction of the papal power, because they know not what is meant by it, and raise the whole structure of their alarms on the historical fact of its former manifold abuses; and that Catholics draw back at the sound of kingly supremacy, because they conceive, that a power, strictly spiritual, is meant to be connected with it. It is a misfortune, in the conflict of human opinions, that the most appropriate words are not chosen; to which, had attention been given, I apprehend, in speaking of the King's supremacy, the word *spiritual* would hardly have been adopted. The term *ecclesiastical* alone might have caused less difficulty, though this would have been highly improper.' p. 47.

If, however, the oath of supremacy should either be repealed, or taken by the Catholics, another obstacle remains, in the shape of a legislative provision, to which, from prejudices in some degree laudable, an extraordinary importance has by many good men been attached. We allude to the Test act, imposed by the 25th of Charles II., which renders the reception of the sacrament, according to the rites of the Church of England, and with certain forms and attestations prescribed in the statute, a necessary qualification for any civil or military officer. Though the admission of Roman Catholics to such stations was never contemplated from the time of the Revolution till a recent period, yet this law, which, whatever may have been the object of those who framed it, did, in fact, operate as an exclusion of Protestant dissenters, has at different times been the subject of much keen

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discussion, both from the press, and within the walls of parliament. The abolition of such restrictions as affect Protestants, is not the question immediately before us; but as it is very intimately connected with that which is, and as an indistinct apprehension of conventicles and meeting-houses seems to weigh with many persons, who are not unwilling to grant indulgences to the Catholics, it may be proper to state, very briefly, what is the practical efficacy of this pretended bulwark of the Church.

In the *first* place, it is no test of approving the Church of England, either in doctrine or discipline; it prescribes only a single rite, concerning which some petty scruples once existed in the minds of dissenters; to which, whenever at least their own interest is concerned, few of them any longer pay attention. Not long after the Revolution, the practice of what was called occasional conformity, of qualifying for the sake of offices, particularly in corporations, became so prevalent, that the end of the test, so far as it went to restrain Protestant dissenters, was nearly defeated. During the reign of Anne, several attempts were made by the High Church party, to prevent, by more strict enactments, what they termed a base and hypocritical evasion; and the consent of the Whigs to a bill levelled at this practice, is said to have been the price of Lord Nottingham's accession to their side in the year 1711. This is meant by that ludicrous chapter in the history of John Bull, when Jack is persuaded by Don Diego to hang himself, in the expectation of being cut down by Sir Roger. Not long after the accession, however, of George I., in the year 1719, the prevalence of Whig counsels, which, except against Catholics, have been uniformly tolerant, led to a repeal of this act, and of other acts, by which the Tory ministry of Anne had gratified the zeal or panic of the orthodox. That zeal and that panic were, in this instance, as usual, without sense or foresight; the accommodating spirit, which they wished to check in the dissenters, was the result of increasing liberality and moderation; those who left the meeting-house for interest, forgot to return for devotion; and the last century has witnessed the silent decay of that dissenting party, when peaceful and unmolested, which withstood the fury of Laud, and the acrimony of Sheldon. Some indeed there yet remain, who shrink from the notion of conformity, staunch and sturdy disciples of the puritanical school. Are these kept aloof by the statute of Charles? Are the mace and the furry robe, the emblems of municipal majesty, denied to such as these? Look to the annual acts of indemnity; acts passing as regularly, and with as little notice, as the most ordinary forms of the houses of parliament. By that, for instance, passed in March 1806, all persons who have neglected to qualify themselves as required

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quired by law, are fully indemnified and freed from all penalties and disabilities, unless *final judgment* shall have been obtained against them. It is provided, indeed, that they must duly qualify before the 25th of December 1806. But as the act has been, for a length of time, annually renewed, it is morally certain, that any man neglecting to comply with this provision, will be relieved by another act, either before the time shall elapse, or at least before final judgment can be obtained against him. Accordingly, scarce any person, we believe, in civil or military trust, whatever his religious opinions may be, takes the trouble of observing the regulations of the Test act. This annual indemnity, as Sir J. Throckmorton very truly observes, is equivalent to its complete annulment. The origin of this system of dispensation he supposes to have been a disposition to favour the Scotch, whose rigid Presbyterianism, we admit, has not been found altogether to exclude them from very comfortable posts in South Britain. 'Why, it may be asked,' he proceeds, 'do not Catholics avail themselves of this act of indemnity? In certain cases they do; but they apprehend that, to some minds, it might have the appearance of occasional conformity; and therefore, they rather submit to the regular operation of the statute.' We believe that the case is rather, that few opportunities have been given to them of craving the aid of these indemnity acts, except in military commissions, which have for some years been filled in numberless instances with a total disregard of this notable barrier of the establishment, from the brave and antient gentry of the Catholic persuasion in Ireland.

But if these concessions are made, it is natural to inquire, will the Catholics be satisfied? Will not success lead to further encroachments; and the mistress of their wishes, so fondly named emancipation, be scorned after enjoyment? Have they not, for thirty years, been gaining ground, at each step professing to terminate their desires, and still repining for more? To this it might be sufficient to answer, that, when we have done full justice, neither our right nor our power to resist exorbitant claims will be impaired. But why is it so certain that we shall have such claims to resist? Intemperate and ambitious men there will be in all mixed bodies, and, we fear, the Irish Catholics are not without their share of them; but, after all that has been said of popular blindness and fury, there is a wonderful difference between the effect of real and imaginary grievances. Fair and honest policy in government is, as it were, the flail of faction: the light and foolish, the violent and designing, are separated by it from sensible and well-meaning men, who mix reluctantly in public disputes, and quit them when their object is attained. In the earliest age

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of the Roman republic, the patrician families alone were admitted to stations of honour and national trust. The struggles of the people against this exclusion were, for a long time, though never sanguinary, violent and unremitting: the concession of lower privileges led only to the demand of higher; till every distinction was abrogated, which stood in the way of aspiring merit. From the time that the consulate and priesthood were opened to the plebeians, early in the fifth century of Rome, her discussions ceased; the vibrating balance of the constitution found its poise; and, during a period of two centuries, scarce any domestic factions retarded or embittered the conquest of the world. But it would be going much too far to assert, that, by acceding to the prayer of the Catholic petition, we should apply a radical cure to that unhappy disaffection which has prevailed among the peasantry of Ireland. Nor do we think, that no measures of conciliation, or, if the word please better, concession, should be taken, beyond those which we have been immediately considering. We have never seen any project for the commutation of tithes in England, which seemed likely to preserve, in the long-run, the rights of the clergy unimpaired. But we appeal to any candid man, who has looked at the statement given above, respecting the church of Ireland, whether the interests of an establishment, so notoriously incompetent, from external circumstances, to its duties, ought to be regarded with extreme favour. Lands, too, are more generally held in Ireland upon freehold leases, than in England, which throws the burden of tithes more upon the tenant; and their collection is, we believe, more frequently *in kind*, and, of consequence, more odious than in the latter country. The maintenance of the Catholic priests by Government has often been suggested. It is no slight evil, however, for a country sinking under the weight of taxes, to support a double hierarchy; and some share of the expense might, perhaps, without injustice, be defrayed from the revenues of the present establishment, in parishes where almost every inhabitant is a Catholic. The author has sketched a plan for the removal of jealousies between the two sects, which is worthy of notice. But, we fear, that he speaks his own sentiments rather than those of his cast; and promises more, in the liberal turn of his mind, for the Romish priests of Ireland, than, unless they are much belied, they will readily undertake.

'1*st*, Without attempting the absurd expedient of suppressing the hierarchy in an Episcopal church, Government has only to signify, that it is their wish that the King, in future, shall have the nomination of the Catholic bishops. This will be conceded. The mode of election or nomination has often varied; but it now generally is lodged in the

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the hands of the Prince, who, in Catholic countries, as was settled in the late French Concordat, after his nomination, allows the elected bishop to apply to the Roman see for canonical *confirmation* or *institution*. And by this act, agreeably to what the late pontiff termed *the new discipline (ex nova disciplina)*, is understood to be maintained as well the union or communion which should ever subsist between the head and its members, as also that *jurisdiction* to be acknowledged, which Catholics believe essentially to belong to the primacy of the bishop of Rome.

'In regard to the *fealty* or *allegiance*, which, at his consecration, each bishop promises to him, if it mean any thing, it means too much: if nothing, it is absurd, and degrades a solemn ceremony. This Episcopal oath, as it is called, found its way into the church in feudal times, when the Roman Bishops, in imitation of other princes, viewed themselves as sovereign lords, and all churchmen as their vassals. The bishop, therefore, did homage in the hands of the consecrator, the supposed representative of his Holiness. But as the days of feudal slavery have passed away, why has not this oath passed with them? Its language evidently denotes its feudal origin. The bishop promises, "that he will from that hour forward be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to his lord the Pope, and his successors, canonically entering: that the papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of Saint Peter, he will keep, maintain and defend against all men: that the rights, privileges, and authorities of the Roman church, and of the Pope, and of his successors, he will cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted."—Let there be no more of this. One obnoxious clause, "that heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the holy father and his successors, he will resist and to his power persecute," is now, I understand, omitted, by the express permission of the Pope; "it being his particular wish," say the cardinals in their letter, "to avoid whatever could give umbrage in Great Britain and Ireland." The whole oath gives umbrage to every thinking man, and should therefore be expunged; yet the French bishops, I believe since the Concordat, continue to take it. Napoleon knows how to value words; but words, as I observed, void of meaning, dishonour the lips that utter them. It should not, however, be concealed, that the court of Rome views them in another light, and will surrender no more of this feudal oath, unless urged to it by the irresistible demand of Government. The expression of vassalage, though no more than a sound, is ever pleasing to the ear of power, and brings to remembrance the days of former greatness.

'*2dly*, The parochial clergy, I understand, are now appointed by the diocesan; but if Government can be prevailed on to allow them moderate salaries, and shall judge proper to regulate their appointments in any other form, I conceive it will meet with no difficulties. I was shocked to hear a legal officer of the Crown lament, that a college had been founded for the education of Catholic clergy. The ignorance

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ignorance of the Irish peasantry has often been deplored; and foreign education, which was not a matter of choice, has often been made a subject of reproach: but now, it seems, no education must be allowed, foreign or domestic. "What would the learned gentleman do with the Catholics?" exclaimed an Irish member; "Would he have them brought up in the grossest ignorance? Would he permit them no place of education, by which they might be rendered useful members of society, and good and loyal subjects? Or would he have them sent out of the country to be educated in the seminaries of that Pope, of whose principles he has so great a dread, and to whose power he thinks it necessary to oppose such strong and formidable barriers?"

'*3dly*, The nomination of the bishops, and the appointment of the parochial clergy being regulated, the next measure, I conceive, must be, first to settle in what manner external discipline, in holding any courts, and the celebration of marriages, shall be administered; and then, which is most important, distinctly to define through what channel communications with the Roman see shall be permitted. This channel must be public; let us say, one of the offices of Government. Much trouble need not be apprehended; for the communications would not be frequent; but, when they happened, the subject or instrument should be open for inspection, as likewise any brief, rescript, or monition, or dispensation, or whatever answer might be transmitted in return.

'With what facility might such regulations be made, and, when made and adhered to, what cause could there any longer be for suspicions, and for any fear of this foreign sovereignty? And the Irish prelacy, I flatter myself, if they have not already taken the subject into consideration, will delay no longer doing it, and will be ready, before Parliament shall again resume the subject, to lay before Government a detailed plan of regulations. The redress of grievances seems to be in their own hands,' p. 148.

The style of this pamphlet is loose and incorrect; and the general character of the reasoning is not vigorous nor impressive. The merits of the cause, however, are distinct from the merits of the book; and upon these, we confess, our opinion is decided. Whatever may be the cloud of popular prejudices at present with respect to this momentous question, we can scarcely doubt, (if in the perils of the time, we may venture to look on to futurity), that the voice of justice and policy will finally prevail. The seeds of truth will bear fruit in due season, if neither the blight wither, nor the tempest scatter them before their time. In the mean time, to be conscious that we have failed in nothing through our own folly or narrowness of views—that we have met the conflict with all our combined and united energies, must be an encouragement in danger, and even a consolation in ruin.

ART.

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ART. VII. *The Complete Works, in Philosophy, Politics, and Morals, of the late Dr Benjamin Franklin. Now first collected and arranged. With Memoirs of his Early Life, written by Himself.* 3 vol. 8vo. pp. 1450. Johnson, London. 1806.

NOTHING, we think, can show more clearly, the singular want of literary enterprize or activity, in the States of America, than that no one has yet been found in that flourishing republic, to collect and publish the works of their only philosopher. It is not even very creditable to the liberal curiosity of the English public, that there should have been no complete edition of the writings of Dr Franklin, till the year 1806: and we should have been altogether unable to account for the imperfect and unsatisfactory manner in which the task has now been performed, if it had not been for a statement in the prefatory advertisement, which removes all blame from the editor, to attach it to a higher quarter. It is there stated, that recently after the death of the author, his grandson, to whom the whole of his papers had been bequeathed, made a voyage to London, for the purpose of preparing and disposing of a complete collection of all his published and unpublished writings, with memoirs of his life, brought down by himself to the year 1757, and continued to his death by his descendant. It was settled, that the work should be published in three quarto volumes, in England, Germany, and France; and a negotiation was commenced with the booksellers, as to the terms of the purchase and publication. At this stage of the business, however, the proposals were suddenly withdrawn; and nothing more has been heard of the work in this its fair and natural market. "The proprietor, it seems, "had found a bidder of a different description, in *some emissary* "*of Government*, whose object was to *withhold* the manuscripts "from the world, not to benefit it by their publication; and "they thus either passed into other hands, or the person to "whom they were bequeathed, received a remuneration for *sup*-"*pressing* them."

If this statement be correct, we have no hesitation in saying, that no emissary of Government was ever employed on a more miserable and unworthy service. It is ludicrous to talk of the danger of disclosing in 1795, any secrets of state, with regard to the war of American independence; and as to any anecdotes or observations that might give offence to individuals, we think it should always be remembered, that public functionaries are the property of the public; that their character belongs to history and to posterity; and that it is equally absurd and discreditable

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creditable to think of *suppressing* any part of the evidence by which their merits must be ultimately determined. But the whole of the works that have been suppressed, certainly did not relate to republican politics. The history of the author's life, down to 1757, could not well contain any matter of offence; and a variety of general remarks and speculations which he is understood to have left behind him, might have been permitted to see the light, though his diplomatic operations had been interdicted. The emissary of Government, however, probably took no care of these things; he was resolved 'to leave no rubs nor botches in his work;' and, to stifle the dreaded revelation, he thought the best way was to strangle all the innocents in the vicinage.

Imperfect as the work now before us necessarily is, we think the public is very much indebted to its editor. It is presented in a cheap and unostentatious form; and though it contains little that has not been already printed as the composition of the author, and does not often settle any point of disputed authenticity in a satisfactory manner, it seems, on the whole, to have been compiled with sufficient diligence, and arranged with considerable judgment. Few writings, indeed, require the aid of a commentator less than those of Dr Franklin; and though this editor is rather too sparing of his presence, we are infinitely better satisfied to be left now and then to our conjectures, than to be incumbered with the explanations, and overpowered with the loquacity, of a more officious attendant.

We do not propose to give any thing like a regular account of the papers contained in these volumes. The best of them have long been familiar to the public; and there are many which it was proper to preserve, that cannot now be made interesting to the general reader. Dr Franklin, however, is too great a man to be allowed to walk past, without some observation; and our readers, we are persuaded, will easily forgive us, if we yield to the temptation of making a few remarks on his character.

This self-taught American is the most rational, perhaps, of all philosophers. He never loses sight of common sense in any of his speculations; and when his philosophy does not consist entirely in its fair and vigorous application, it is always regulated and controuled by it in its application and result. No individual, perhaps, ever possessed a juster understanding, or was so seldom obstructed in the use of it, by indolence, enthusiasm, or authority.

Dr Franklin received no regular education; and he spent the greater part of his life in a society where there was no relish, and no encouragement for literature. On an ordinary mind, these circumstances would have produced their usual effects, of repressing

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repressing all sort of intellectual ambition or activity, and perpetuating a generation of incurious mechanics: But to an understanding like Franklin's, we cannot help considering them as peculiarly propitious, and imagine that we can trace back to them, distinctly, almost all the peculiarities of his intellectual character.

Regular education, we think, is unfavourable to vigour or originality of understanding. Like civilization, it makes society more intelligent and agreeable; but it levels the distinctions of nature. It strengthens and assists the feeble; but it deprives the strong of his triumph, and casts down the hopes of the aspiring. It accomplishes this, not only by training up the mind in an habitual veneration for authorities, but, by leading us to bestow a disproportionate degree of attention upon studies that are only valuable as keys or instruments for the understanding, they come at last to be regarded as ultimate objects of pursuit; and the means of education are absurdly mistaken for its end. How many powerful understandings have been lost in the Dialectics of Aristotle! And of how much good philosophy are we daily defrauded, by the preposterous error of taking a knowledge of prosody for useful learning! The mind of a man, who has escaped this training, will at least have fair play. Whatever other errors he may fall into, he will be safe at least from these infatuations. If he thinks proper, after he grows up, to study Greek, it will be for some better purpose than to become acquainted with its dialects. His prejudices will be those of a man, and not of a schoolboy; and his speculations and conclusions will be independent of the maxims of tutors, and the oracles of literary patrons.

The consequences of living in a refined and literary community, are nearly of the same kind with those of a regular education. There are so many critics to be satisfied—so many qualifications to be established—so many rivals to encounter, and so much derision to be hazarded, that a young man is apt to be deterred from so perilous an enterprize, and led to seek for distinction in some safer line of exertion. He is discouraged by the fame and the perfection of certain models and favourites, who are always in the mouths of his judges, and, 'under them, his genius is rebuked,' and his originality repressed, till he sinks into a paltry copyist, or aims at distinction, by extravagance and affectation. In such a state of society, he feels that mediocrity has no chance of distinction; and what beginner can expect to rise at once into excellence? He imagines that mere good sense will attract no attention; and that the manner is of much more importance than the matter, in a candidate for public admiration. In his attention to the manner, the matter is apt to be neglected; and, in his solicitude to please those who require elegance of diction,

brilliancy

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brilliancy of wit, or harmony of periods, he is in ſome danger of forgetting that ſtrength of reaſon, and accuracy of obſervation, by which he firſt propoſed to recommend himſelf. His attention, when extended to ſo many collateral objects, is no longer vigorous or collected;—the ſtream, divided into ſo many channels, ceaſes to flow either deep or ſtrong;—he becomes an unſucceſsful pretender to fine writing, and is ſatisfied with the frivolous praiſe of elegance or vivacity.

We are diſpoſed to aſcribe ſo much power to theſe obſtructions to intellectual originality, that we cannot help fancying, that if Franklin had been bred in a college, he would have contented himſelf with expounding the metres of Pindar, and mixing argument with his port in the common room; and that if Boſton had abounded with men of letters, he would never have ventured to come forth from his printing-houſe, or been driven back to it, at any rate, by the ſneers of the critics, after the firſt publication of his eſſays in the Buſy Body.

This will probably be thought exaggerated; but it cannot be denied, we think, that the contrary circumſtances in his hiſtory had a powerful effect in determining the character of his underſtanding, and in producing thoſe peculiar habits of reaſoning and inveſtigation by which his writings are diſtinguiſhed. He was encouraged to publiſh, becauſe there was ſcarcely any one around him whom he could not eaſily excel. He wrote with great brevity, becauſe he had not leiſure for more voluminous compoſitions, and becauſe he knew that the readers to whom he addreſſed himſelf were, for the moſt part, as buſy as himſelf. For the ſame reaſon, he ſtudied great perſpicuity and ſimplicity of ſtatement. His countrymen had no reliſh for fine writing, and could not eaſily be made to underſtand a deduction depending on a long or elaborate proceſs of reaſoning. He was forced, therefore, to concentrate what he had to ſay; and ſince he had no chance of being admired for the beauty of his compoſition, it was natural for him to aim at making an impreſſion by the force and the clearneſs of his ſtatements.

His concluſions were often raſh and inaccurate, from the ſame circumſtances which rendered his productions conciſe. Philoſophy and ſpeculation did not form the buſineſs of his life; nor did he dedicate himſelf to any particular ſtudy, with a view to exhauſt and complete the inveſtigation of it in all its parts, and under all its relations. He engaged in every intereſting inquiry that ſuggeſted itſelf to him, rather as the neceſſary exerciſe of a powerful and active mind, than as a taſk which he had bound himſelf to perform. He caſt a quick and penetrating glance over the facts and the *data* that were preſented to him; and drew his

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his conclusions with a rapidity and precision that have not often been equalled; but he did not stop to examine the completeness of the *data* upon which he proceeded, nor to consider the ultimate effect or application of the principles to which he had been conducted. In all questions, therefore, where the facts upon which he was to determine, and the materials from which his judgment was to be formed, were either few in number, or of such a nature as not to be overlooked, his reasonings are, for the most part, perfectly just and conclusive, and his decisions unexceptionably sound; but where the elements of the calculation were more numerous and widely scattered, it appears to us that he has often been precipitate, and that he has either been misled by a partial apprehension of the conditions of the problem, or has discovered only a portion of the truth which lay before him. In all physical inquiries; in almost all questions of particular and immediate policy; and in much of what relates to the practical wisdom and the happiness of private life, his views will be found to be admirable, and the reasoning by which they are supported most masterly and convincing. But upon subjects of general politics, of abstract morality, and political economy, his notions appear to be more unsatisfactory and incomplete. He seems to have wanted leisure, and perhaps inclination also, to spread out before him the whole vast premises of these extensive sciences, and scarcely to have had patience to hunt for his conclusions through so wide and intricate a region as that upon which they invited him to enter. He has been satisfied, therefore, on every occasion, with reasoning from a very limited view of the facts, and often from a particular instance: he has done all that sagacity and sound sense could do with such materials; but it cannot excite wonder, if he has sometimes overlooked an essential part of the argument, and often advanced a particular truth into the place of a general principle. He seldom reasoned upon these subjects at all, we believe, without having some practical application of them immediately in view; and as he began the investigation rather to determine a particular case, than to establish a general maxim, so he probably desisted as soon as he had relieved himself of the present difficulty.

There are not many among the thorough bred scholars and philosophers of Europe, who can lay claim to distinction in more than one or two departments of science or literature. The uneducated tradesman of America has left writings that call for our attention, in natural philosophy,—in politics,—in political economy,—and in general literature and morality.

Of his labours in the department of *Physics*, we do not propose to say much. They were almost all suggested by views of utility

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utility in the beginning, and were, without exception, applied, we believe, to promote thoſe views in the end. His letters upon *Electricity* have been more extenſively circulated than any of his other writings; and are entitled to more praiſe and popularity than they ſeem ever to have met with in this country. Nothing can be more admirable than the luminous and graphical preciſion with which the experiments are narrated; the ingenuity with which they are projected; and the ſagacity with which the concluſion is inferred, limited, and confirmed.

The moſt remarkable thing, however, in theſe, and indeed in the whole of his phyſical ſpeculations, is the unparalleled ſimplicity and facility with which the reader is conducted from one ſtage of the inquiry to another. The author never appears for a moment to labour, or to be at a loſs. The moſt ingenious and profound explanations are ſuggeſted, as if they were the moſt natural and obvious way of accounting for the phenomena; and the author ſeems to value himſelf ſo little on his moſt important diſcoveries, that it is neceſſary to compare him with others, before we can form a juſt notion of his merits. As he ſeems to be conſcious of no exertion, he feels no partiality for any part of his ſpeculations, and never ſeeks to raiſe the reader's idea of their importance, by any arts of declamation or eloquence. Indeed, the habitual preciſion of his conceptions, and his invariable practice of referring to ſpecific facts and obſervations, ſecured him, in a great meaſure, both from thoſe extravagant conjectures in which ſo many naturaliſts have indulged, and from the zeal and enthuſiaſm which ſeems ſo naturally to be engendered in their defence. He was by no means averſe to give ſcope to his imagination, in ſuggeſting a variety of explanations of obſcure and unmanageable phenomena; but he never allowed himſelf to confound theſe vague and conjectural theories with the ſolid reſults of experience and obſervation. In his Meteorological papers, and in his Obſervations upon Heat and Light, there is a great deal of ſuch bold and original ſuggeſtions; but the author evidently ſets little value upon them; and has no ſooner diſburdened his mind of the impreſſions from which they proceeded, than he ſeems to diſmiſs them entirely from his conſideration, and turns to the legitimate philoſophy of experiment with unabated diligence and humility. As an inſtance of this diſpoſition, we may quote part of a letter to the Abbé Soulaive, upon a new Theory of the Earth, which he propoſes and diſmiſſes, without concern or anxiety, in the courſe of a few ſentences; though, if the idea had fallen upon the brain of an European philoſopher, it might have germinated into a volume of eloquence, like Buffon's, or an infinite array of paragraphs and obſervations, like thoſe of Parkinſon or Dr Hutton.

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After remarking, that there are manifold indications of some of the highest parts of the land having been formerly covered by the sea, Dr Franklin observes—

'Such changes in the superficial parts of the globe, seemed to me unlikely to happen, if the earth were solid to the centre. I therefore imagined, that the internal parts might be a fluid more dense, and of greater specific gravity than any of the solids we are acquainted with, which therefore might swim in or upon that fluid. Thus the surface of the globe would be a shell, capable of being broken and disordered by the violent movements of the fluid on which it rested. And as air has been compressed by art so as to be twice as dense as water, and as we know not yet the degree of density to which air may be compressed, and M. Amontons calculated that its density increasing as it approached the centre in the same proportion as above the surface, it would, at the depth of leagues, be heavier than gold, possibly the dense fluid occupying the internal parts of the globe might be air compressed. And as the force of expansion in dense air, when heated, is in proportion to its density, this central air might afford another agent to move the surface, as well as be of use in keeping alive the subterraneous fires; though, as you observe, the sudden rarefaction of water coming into contact with those fires, may also be an agent sufficiently strong for that purpose, when acting between the incumbent earth and the fluid on which it rests.

'If one might indulge imagination in supposing how such a globe was formed, I should conceive, that all the elements in separate particles being originally mixed in confusion, and occupying a great space, they would (as soon as the Almighty fiat ordained gravity, or the mutual attraction of certain parts, and the mutual repulsion of others, to exist) all move to their common centre: that the air being a fluid whose parts repel each other, though drawn to the common centre by their gravity, would be densest towards the centre, and rarer as more remote; consequently, all matters lighter than the central parts of that air, and immersed in it, would recede from the centre, and rise till they arrived at that region of the air which was of the same specific gravity with themselves, where they would rest; while other matter, mixed with the lighter air, would descend, and the two, meeting, would form the shell of the first earth, leaving the upper atmosphere nearly clear. The original movement of the parts towards their common centre, would naturally form a whirl there; which would continue, upon the turning of the new-formed globe upon its axis; and the greatest diameter of the shell would be in its equator. If, by any accident afterwards, the axis should be changed, the dense internal fluid, by altering its form, must burst the shell, and throw all its substance into the confusion in which we find it. I will not trouble you at present with my fancies concerning the manner of forming the rest of our system. Superior beings smile at our theories, and at our presumption in making them.' Vol. II. p. 117—19.

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He afterwards makes his theory much finer and more extravagant, by combining with it a very wild speculation upon magnetism; and, notwithstanding the additional temptation of this new piece of ingenuity, he abandons it in the end with as much unconcern, as if he had had no share in the making of it. We shall add the whole passage.

'It has long been a supposition of mine, that the iron contained in the surface of the globe has made it capable of becoming, as it is, a great magnet; that the fluid of magnetism perhaps exists in all space; so that there is a magnetical north and south of the universe, as well as of this globe, and that if it were possible for a man to fly from star to star, he might govern his course by the compass; that it was by the power of this general magnetism this globe became a particular magnet. In soft or hot iron the fluid of magnetism is naturally diffused equally: when within the influence of the magnet, it is drawn to one end of the iron; made denser there, and rarer at the other. While the iron continues soft and hot, it is only a temporary magnet; if it cools or grows hard in that situation, it becomes a permanent one, the magnetic fluid not easily resuming its equilibrium. Perhaps it may be owing to the permanent magnetism of this globe, which it had not at first, that its axis is at present kept parallel to itself, and not liable to the changes it formerly suffered, which occasioned the rupture of its shell, the submersions and emersions of its lands, and the confusion of its seasons. The present polar and equatorial diameters differing from each other near ten leagues, it is easy to conceive, in case some power should shift the axis gradually, and place it in the present equator, and make the new equator pass through the present poles, what a sinking of the waters would happen in the present equatorial regions, and what a rising in the present polar regions; so that vast tracts would be discovered, that now are under water, and others covered, that are now dry, the water rising and sinking in the different extremes near five leagues. Such an operation as this possibly occasioned much of Europe, and among the rest this Mountain of Passy on which I live, and which is composed of limestone rock and sea-shells, to be abandoned by the sea, and to change its ancient climate, which seems to have been a hot one. The globe being now become a perfect magnet, we are, perhaps, safe from any change of its axis. But we are still subject to the accidents on the surface, which are occasioned by a wave in the internal ponderous fluid; and such a wave is producible by the sudden violent explosion you mention, happening from the junction of water and fire under the earth, which not only lifts the incumbent earth that is over the explosion, but impressing with the same force the fluid under it, creates a wave, that may run a thousand leagues, lifting, and thereby shaking, successively, all the countries under which it passes. I know not, whether I have expressed myself so clearly, as not to get out of your sight in these reveries. If they occasion any new inquiries, and produce a better hypothesis, they will not be quite useless. You see I have given

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a loose to imagination; but I approve much more your method of philosophizing, which proceeds upon actual observation, makes a collection of facts, and concludes no further than those facts will warrant. In my present circumstances, that mode of studying the nature of the globe is out of my power, and therefore I have permitted myself to wander a little in the wilds of fancy.' II. 119—121.

Our limits will not permit us to make any analysis of the other physical papers contained in this collection. They are all admirable for the clearness of the description, the felicity and familiarity of the illustrations, and the singular sagacity of the remarks with which they are interspersed. The theory of whirlwinds and water-spouts, as well as the observations on the course of the winds and on cold, seem to be excellent. The paper called Maritime Observations is full of ingenuity and practical good sense; and the remarks on Evaporation, and on the Tides, most of which are contained in a series of letters to a young lady, are admirable, not merely for their perspicuity, but for the interest and amusement they are calculated to communicate to every description of readers. The remarks on Fire-places and Smoky chimnies are infinitely more original, concise, and scientific, than those of Count Rumford; and the observations on the Gulph-stream afford, we believe, the first example of just theory, and accurate investigation, applied to that phenomenon.

Dr Franklin, we think, has never made use of the mathematics, in his investigation of the phenomena of nature; and though this may render it surprising that he has fallen into so few errors of importance, we conceive that it helps in some measure to explain the unequalled perspicuity and vivacity of his expositions. An algebraist, who can work wonders with letters, seldom condescends to be much indebted to words, and thinks himself entitled to make his sentences obscure, provided his calculations be distinct. A writer who has nothing but words to make use of, must make all the use he can of them: he cannot afford to neglect the only chance he has of being understood.

We should now say something of the political writings of Dr Franklin,—the productions which first raised him into public office and eminence, and which will be least read or attended to by posterity. They may be divided into two parts; those which relate to the internal affairs and provincial differences of the American colonies, before their quarrel with the mother country; and those which relate to that quarrel and its consequences. The former are no longer in any degree interesting: and the editor has done wisely, we think, in presenting his readers with an abstract only of the longest of them. This was published in 1759, under the title of an Historical Review of the Constitution of Pensylvania, and consisted of upwards of 500 pages, composed

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for the purpose of showing that the political privileges reserved to the founder of the colony had been illegally and oppressively used. The Canada pamphlet, written in 1760, for the purpose of pointing out the importance of retaining that colony at the peace, is given entire; and appears to be composed with great force of reason, and in a style of extraordinary perspicuity. The same may be said of what are called the Albany Papers, or the plan for a general political union of the colonies in 1754; and of a variety of other tracts on the provincial politics of that day. All these are worth preserving, both as monuments of Dr Franklin's talents and activity, and as affording, in many places, very excellent models of strong reasoning and popular eloquence: but the interest of the subjects is now completely gone by; and the few specimens of general reasoning which we meet with serve only to increase our regret, that the talents of the author should have been wasted on such perishable materials.

There is not much written on the subject of the dispute with the colonies; and most of Dr Franklin's papers on that subject are already well known to the public. His examination before the House of Commons in 1766, affords a striking proof of the extent of his information, the clearness and force of his *extempore* composition, and the steadiness and self-possession which enabled him to display these qualities with so much effect upon such an occasion. His letters before the commencement of hostilities, are full of grief and anxiety; but, no sooner did matters come to extremities, than he appears to have assumed a certain keen and confident cheerfulness, not unmixed with a seasoning of asperity, and more vindictiveness of spirit than perhaps became a philosopher. In a letter written in October 1775, he expresses himself in this manner.

'Tell our dear good friend * * *, who sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous; a very few Tories and placemen excepted, who will probably soon export themselves. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankies this campaign, which is 20,000l. a head; and, at Bunker's Hill, she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time, sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these *data*, his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory.' (III. 357–8.)

The following letters, which passed between Dr Franklin and Lord Howe, when his Lordship arrived off the American coast with what were called the pacificatory proposals in 1776, show not only the consideration in which the former was held by the Noble Commissioner, but contain a very striking and prophetic statement

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ſtatement of the conſequences to be apprehended from the perſeverance of Great Britain in her ſchemes of compulſion. His Lordſhip writes, in June 1776,

'I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels, which I have sent (in the state I received them), to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

'You will learn the nature of my mission, from the official deſpatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated; I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable in the objects of the King's paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the Colonies. But, if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people, I shall, from every private as well as public motive, most heartily lament, that this is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained, and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you, personally, of the regard with which I am, &c.' (III. 365-7.)

Dr Franklin anſwered—

'I received safe the letters your Lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept *my* thanks.

'The official deſpatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of Parliament, viz. "Offers of pardon upon submission;" which I was sorry to find; as it must give your Lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

'Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments.—It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burned our defenceless towns in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre our (peaceful) farmers; and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now * bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear: but, were it possible for *us* to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for *you* (I mean the British nation) to forgive the people you have so heavily injured; you can never confide again in those as fellow-subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom you know you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit by the severest tyran-

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* About this time the Hessians, &c. had just arrived from Europe at Staten Island and New York. B. V.

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ny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity.

'But your Lordship mentions "the King's paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the Colonies." If by *peace* is here meant, a peace to be entered into by distinct states, now at war; and his Majesty has given your Lordship powers to treat with us of such a peace; I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances. But I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though, by punishing those American governors who have fomented the discord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing as far as possible the mischiefs done us, she might recover a great share of our regard, and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength, to be derived from a friendship with us; yet I know too well her abounding pride and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest as a warlike nation; her lust of dominion as an ambitious one; and her thirst for a gainful monopoly as a commercial one (none of them legitimate causes of war), will join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and continually goad her on in those ruinous distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croisades formerly were to most of the nations of Europe.

'I have not the vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions,—not to be believed till the event shall verify it.

'Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble porcelain vase—the British empire; for I knew that, being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their *share* of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect reunion of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wetted my cheek, when, at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country; and, among the rest, some share in the regard of Lord Howe.

'The well-founded esteem, and, permit me to say, affection, which I shall always have for your Lordship, make it painful to me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which (as described in your letter) is "the necessity of preventing the American *trade* from passing into foreign channels." To me it seems, that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, are the goodness and cheapness

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cheapness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise; and I am persuaded, that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonour, those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

'I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and I believe, when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will then relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station.

'With the greatest and most sincere respect, I have the honour to be,' &c. (III. 367—371.)

None of Dr Franklin's political writings, during the nine years when he resided as Ambassador at the Court of France, have yet been made public. Some of them, we should imagine, must be highly interesting.

Of the merit of this author as a political economist, we have already had occasion to say something, in the general remarks which we made on the character of his genius; and we cannot now spare time to go much into particulars. He is perfectly sound upon many important and practical points;—upon the corn-trade, and the theory of money, for instance; and also upon the more general doctrines, as to the freedom of commerce, and the principle of population. In the more elementary and abstract parts of the science, however, his views seem to have been less just and luminous. He is not very consistent or profound in what he says of the effects of luxury; and seems to have gone headlong into the radical error of the *Economistes*, when he maintains, that all that is done by manufacture, is to embody the value of the manufacturer's subsistence in his work, and that agriculture is the only source from which a real increase of wealth can be derived. Another favourite position is, that all commerce is *cheating*, where a commodity, produced by a certain quantity of labour, is exchanged for another, on which more labour has been expended; and that the only *fair* price of any thing, is some other thing requiring the same exertion to bring it to market. This is evidently a very narrow and erroneous view of the nature of commerce. The fair price to the purchaser is, whatever he deliberately chuses to give, rather than go without the commodity;—it is no matter to him, whether the seller bestowed much or little labour upon it, or whether it came into his possession without any labour at all;—whether it be a diamond, which he picked up, or a picture, at which he had been working for years. The commodity is not valued by the purchaser,

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on account of the labour which is ſuppoſed to be embodied in it, but ſolely on account of certain qualities, which he finds convenient or agreeable; he compares the convenience and delight which he expects to derive from this object, with the convenience and delight which is afforded by the things aſked in exchange for it; and if he find the former preponderate, he conſents to the exchange, and makes a beneficial bargain. We have ſtated the caſe in the name of a purchaſer, becauſe, in barter, both parties are truly purchaſers, and act upon the ſame principles; and it is eaſy to ſhow, that all commerce reſolves itſelf, ultimately, into barter. There can be no unfairneſs in trade, except where there is concealment on the part of the ſeller, either of the defects of the commodity, or of the fact that the purchaſer may be ſupplied with it at a cheaper rate by another. It is a matter of *fact*, but not of *morality*, that the price of moſt commodities will be influenced by the labour employed in producing them.—If they are capable of being produced in unlimited quantities, the competition of the producers will ſink the price very nearly to what is neceſſary to maintain this labour; and the impoſſibility of continuing the production, without repaying that labour, will prevent it from ſinking lower. The doctrine does not apply at all, to caſes where the materials, or the ſkill neceſſary to work them up, are ſcarce in proportion to the demand. The author's ſpeculation on the effects of paper-money, ſeem alſo to be ſuperficial and inaccurate. *Statiſtics* had not been carefully ſtudied in the days of his activity; and, accordingly, we meet with a good deal of looſe aſſumption, and ſweeping calculation, in his writings. Yet he had a genius for exact obſervation, and complicated detail; and probably wanted nothing but leiſure, to have made very great advances in this branch of economy.

As a writer on morality and general literature, the merits of Dr Franklin cannot be eſtimated properly, without taking into conſideration the peculiarities, that have been already alluded to, in his early hiſtory and ſituation. He never had the benefit of any academical inſtruction, nor of the ſociety of men of letters;—his ſtyle was formed entirely by his own judgment and occaſional reading; and moſt of his moral pieces were written while he was a tradeſman, addreſſing himſelf to the tradeſmen of his native city. We cannot expect, therefore, either that he ſhould write with extraordinary elegance or grace; or that he ſhould treat of the accompliſhments, follies, and occupations of polite life. He had no great occaſion, as a moraliſt, to expoſe the guilt and the folly of gaming or ſeduction; or to point a poignant and playful ridicule againſt the lighter immoralities of faſhionable life. To

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the mechanics and traders of Boston and Philadelphia, such warnings were altogether unnecessary; and he endeavoured, therefore, with more appropriate eloquence, to impress upon them the importance of industry, sobriety, and economy, and to direct their wise and humble ambition to the attainment of useful knowledge and honourable independence. That morality, after all, is certainly the most valuable, which is adapted to the circumstances of the greater part of mankind; and that eloquence is the most meritorious, that is calculated to convince and persuade the multitude to virtue. Nothing can be more perfectly and beautifully adapted to its object, than most of Dr Franklin's compositions of this sort. The tone of familiarity, of good-will, and homely jocularity—the plain and pointed illustrations—the short sentences, made up of short words—and the strong sense, clear information, and obvious conviction of the author himself, make most of his moral exhortations perfect models of popular eloquence; and afford the finest specimens of a style which has been but too little cultivated in a country, which numbers perhaps more than 100,000 readers among its tradesmen and artificers.

In writings which possess such solid and unusual merit, it is of no great consequence that the fastidious eye of a critic can discover many blemishes. There is a good deal of vulgarity in the practical writings of Dr Franklin; and more vulgarity than was any way necessary for the object he had in view. There is something childish, too, in some of his attempts at pleasantry: his story of the Whistle, and his Parisian letter, announcing the discovery that the sun gives light as soon as he rises, are instances of this. The soliloquy of an Ephemeris, however, is much better; and both it, and the Dialogue with the Gout, are executed with the lightness and spirit of genuine French compositions. The Speech in the Divan of Algiers, composed as a parody on those of the defenders of the slave-trade, and the scriptural parable against persecution, are inimitable;—they have all the point and facility of the fine pleasantries of Swift and Arbuthnot, with something more of directness and apparent sincerity.

The style of his letters, in general, is excellent. They are chiefly remarkable, for great simplicity of language, admirable good sense and ingenuity, and an amiable and inoffensive cheerfulness, that is never overclouded or eclipsed. Among the most valuable of the writings that are published for the first time, in the present edition, are four letters from Dr Franklin to Mr Whatley, written within a few years of his death, and expressive of all that unbroken gaiety, philanthropy and activity, which distinguish the compositions of his earlier years. We give with pleasure the following extracts.

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'I am not acquainted with the saying of Alphonsus, which you allude to as a sanctification of your rigidity, in refusing to allow me the plea of old age as an excuse for my want of exactitude in correspondence. What was that saying?—You do not, it seems, feel any occasion for such an excuse, though you are, as you say, rising 75, but I am rising (perhaps more properly falling) 80—and I leave the excuse with you till you arrive at that age; perhaps you may then be more sensible of its validity, and see fit to use it for yourself.

'I must agree with you, that the gout is bad, and that the stone is worse. I am happy in not having them both together; and I join in your prayer, that you may live till you die without either. But I doubt the author of the epitaph you sent me is a little mistaken, when, speaking of the world, he says, that

——————"He ne'er car'd a pin
What they said or may say of the mortal within."

'It is so natural to wish to be well spoken of, whether alive or dead, that I imagine he could not be quite exempt from that desire, and that at least he wished to be thought a wit, or he would not have given himself the trouble of writing so good an epitaph to leave behind him.'

—'You see I have some reason to wish that in a future state I may not only be *as well as I was*, but a little better. And I hope it: for I, too, with your poet, *trust in God*. And when I observe, that there is great frugality as well as wisdom in his works, since he has been evidently sparing both of labour and materials; for, by the various wonderful inventions of propagation, he has provided for the continual peopling his world with plants and animals, without being at the trouble of repeated new creations; and by the natural reduction of compound substances to their original elements, capable of being employed in new compositions, he has prevented the necessity of creating new matter; for that the earth, water, air, and perhaps fire, which being compounded, form wood, do, when the wood is dissolved, return, and again become air, earth, fire and water:—I say, that when I see nothing annihilated, and not even a drop of water wasted, I cannot suspect the annihilation of souls, or believe that he will suffer the daily waste of millions of minds ready made that now exist, and put himself to the continual trouble of making new ones. Thus finding myself to exist in the world, I believe I shall in some shape or other always exist. And with all the inconveniences human *life* is liable to, I shall not object to a new edition of mine; hoping, however, that the errata of the last may be corrected.' Vol. III. p. 546—548.

'Our constitution seems not to be well understood with you. If the congress were a permanent body, there would be more reason in being jealous of giving it powers. But its members are chosen annually, and cannot be chosen more than three years successively, nor more than three years in seven; and any of them may be recalled at any time, whenever their constituents shall be dissatisfied with their conduct. They are of the people, and return again to mix with the people, having no more durable preeminence than the different grains of sand in an hour-glass.

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glaſs. Such an aſſembly cannot eaſily become dangerous to liberty. They are the ſervants of the people, ſent together to do the people's buſineſs, and promote the public welfare; their powers muſt be ſufficient, or their duties cannot be performed. They have no profitable appointments, but a mere payment of daily wages, ſuch as are ſcarcely equivalent to their expenſes; ſo that, having no chance for great places and enormous ſalaries or penſions, as in ſome countries, there is no intriguing or bribing for elections. I wiſh Old England were as happy in its government, but I do not ſee it. Your people, however, think their conſtitution the beſt in the world, and affect to deſpiſe ours. It is comfortable to have a good opinion of one's ſelf, and of every thing that belongs to us; to think one's own religion, king, and wife, the beſt of all poſſible wives, kings, and religions. I remember three Greenlanders, who had travelled two years in Europe, under the care of ſome Moravian miſſionaries, and had viſited Germany, Denmark, Holland and England; when I aſked them at Philadelphia (when they were in their way home) whether, now they had ſeen how much more commodiouſly the white people lived by the help of the arts, they would not chooſe to remain among us—their anſwer was, that they were pleaſed with having had an opportunity of ſeeing many fine things, *but they chose to live in their own country:* which country, by the way, conſiſted of rock only; for the Moravians were obliged to carry earth in their ſhip from New York, for the purpoſe of making there a cabbage garden!' III. 550, 551.

'You are now 78, and I am 82. You tread faſt upon my heels: but, though you have more ſtrength and ſpirit, you cannot come up with me till I ſtop, which muſt now be ſoon; for I am grown ſo old as to have buried moſt of the friends of my youth; and I now often hear perſons, whom I knew when children, called *old* Mr ſuch a one, to diſtinguiſh them from their ſons, now men grown, and in buſineſs; ſo that, by living twelve years beyond *David*'s period, I ſeem to have intruded myſelf into the company of poſterity, when I ought to have been abed and aſleep. Yet had I gone at 70, it would have cut off twelve of the moſt active years of my life, employed, too, in matters of the greateſt importance; but whether I have been doing good or miſchief, is for time to diſcover. I only know that I intended well, and I hope all will end well.

'Be ſo good as to preſent my affectionate reſpects to Dr Rowley. I am under great obligations to him, and ſhall write to him ſhortly. It will be a pleaſure to him to hear that my malady does not grow ſenſibly worſe, and that is a great point; for it has always been ſo tolerable, as not to prevent my enjoying the pleaſures of ſociety, and being cheerful in converſation. I owe this in a great meaſure to his good counſels.' III. 555, 556.

'Your eyes muſt continue very good, ſince you are able to write ſo ſmall a hand without ſpectacles. I cannot diſtinguiſh a letter even of large print, but am happy in the invention of double ſpectacles, which, ſerving

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ſerving for diſtant objects as well as near ones, make my eyes as uſeful to me as ever they were. If all the other defects and infirmities of old age could be as eaſily and cheaply remedied, it would be worth while, my friend, to live a good deal longer. But I look upon death to be as neceſſary to our conſtitutions as ſleep. We ſhall riſe refreſhed in the morning.—Adieu, and believe me ever,' &c. III. 544, 545.

There is something extremely amiable in old age, when thus exhibited without querulousness, discontent, or impatience, and free, at the same time, from any affected or unbecoming levity. We think there must be many more of Dr Franklin's letters in existence, than have yet been given to the public; and from the tone and tenor of those which we have seen, we are satisfied that they would be read with general avidity and improvement.

His account of his own life, down to the year 1730, has been in the hands of the public since 1790. It is written with great simplicity and liveliness, though it contains too many trifling details and anecdotes of obscure individuals. It affords a striking example of the irresistible force with which talents and industry bear upwards in society; as well as an impressive illustration of the substantial wisdom and good policy of invariable integrity and candour. We should think it a very useful reading for all young persons of unsteady principle, who have their fortunes to make or to mend in the world.

Upon the whole, we look upon the life and writings of Dr Franklin as affording a striking illustration of the incalculable value of a sound and well directed understanding, and of the comparative uselessness of learning and laborious accomplishments. Without the slightest pretensions to the character of a scholar or a man of science, he has extended the bounds of human knowledge on a variety of subjects, which scholars and men of science had previously investigated without success; and has only been found deficient in those studies which the learned have generally turned from in disdain. We would not be understood to say any thing in disparagement of scholarship and science; but the value of these instruments is apt to be overrated by their possessors; and it is a wholesome mortification, to show them that the work may be done without them. We have long known, that their employment does not insure its success.

Art.

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ART. VIII. *Memoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose: Contenant des Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques et Literaires, relatives à plusieurs des principaux Personages du Siecle.* Trois Volumes. 8vo. pp. 900. Londres. Dulau, 1806.

THE work which this affected title announces turns out to be a rambling, gossiping life of Mr Dutens, well known as the author of an Itinerary, a book on the ancient anticipations of modern discoveries, and several trifles in the antiquarian and literary line. We acknowledge ourselves in a good degree disappointed by the execution of the present undertaking. One who enjoyed so many opportunities of cultivating the acquaintance of celebrated characters,—who has lived above half a century in good society in various parts of Europe,—who has generally passed for an agreeable companion, and, as such, must have, in conversation, the art of narration, might have been expected to fill a small number of volumes with many more striking passages and interesting anecdotes than can be discovered in the performance now before us. We by no means intend to assert, that it is either dull or ill written; but it contains far less interesting matter than we had a right to expect from the opportunities and talents of the author. We proceed, however, to make our readers acquainted with Mr Dutens, who, of course, forms the chief subject of the book.

Mr Dutens, or, as he calls himself throughout this work, Duchillon, is a member of a very ancient family in France. He was educated, as usually happens to those who write their own lives, by the most tender of parents, and passed his early years in reading poems, romances, and books of a similar description. From thence he rose to a slight acquaintance with writers of history and morals, until, by degrees, he arrived at that age when the heart begins to feel '*un sentiment inexplicable,—sentiment amer et doux,—source d'inquietudes et de plaisirs.*' In short, he fell desperately in love with a schoolmaster's daughter, who, according to the fashion of all damsels of this description, immediately returned his flame, and insisted on his naming the marriage-day instantly. He applied to his father for this purpose, and poured out to him his whole heart: but love, it should seem, wanted its usual eloquence on that occasion; for the only answer which old Mr Dutens thought proper to give, was a sound box on the ear, 'intimating thereby, with sufficient precision, that the proposition was not at all to his liking.' The chagrin which this failure occasioned, made our author suddenly and secretly quit his father's house, and take the road to Angers, where his evil

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genius still pursued him, and he again fell in love with his landlord's daughter, who proved as complaisant as his former love had been. But her father took umbrage at his addresses, and drove him from the premises, so that he was obliged to set out for Nantz. Here the same planet continued to rule his destiny, and a third unsuccessful passion drove him away—to Paris; whither he repaired, with the true taste of a Frenchman in despair, to see the *fêtes* which were then about to be celebrated for the peace. His first occupation, on arriving in the capital, was to write a tragedy, which was of course rejected. His next was to resume his old vocation, and fall in love with a lady of all manner of perfections. With her he was on the eve of accomplishing his union, when her enraged parent arrived and hurried her away from his sight, leaving him in the parlour of the boarding-school overwhelmed with unruly grief, and with difficulty kept by the rest of the misses from dashing his head to pieces against the wall.

Our author's family were rigid Protestants, and exposed to all the intolerable persecutions which awaited the dissenters from the Catholic church in France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Of these he had a very near view in his own house. The archbishop of his diocese ordered to be carried off by force, from the arms of his parents, a sister twelve years old, in order to have her shut up in a convent. No entreaties, addressed either to the ministry or the prelate, could obtain the slightest relaxation of this cruel order. The young woman was detained during four years; at the end of which, she abjured the religion of her father in self-defence, and took the veil. We must here, for a moment, interrupt our narrative, to contemplate, in passing, the wretchedness of a country which groaned under oppressions like these. With all the complicated evils which the revolution has entailed upon France, it is perhaps enough to state, that religious toleration—the abolition of such odious tyranny as appears in the incidental circumstance just now related, has been secured by this mighty event, in order to prove that, upon the whole, France has rather gained than suffered by the change. At any rate, we must admit, that the consideration of those powers, vested in the church over the dissenters, fully justified our author in the resolution, which the fate of his sister induced him to form, of leaving a country so inhospitable to the best and most industrious part of her children. He accordingly once more quitted his father's house, and set out for England, with the intention of making it his adopted home.

In his way to the coast, he passed through a town where two English ladies were residing for the benefit of their health. Hearing

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Hearing that one of these was Miss Pitt, sister of the Minister, he contrived to procure an introduction to them; and with that talent of subserviency, which never failed him through life, he made himself, in a short time, rather necessary to their existence, than agreeable to their society.—*Je me conduisis si bien,*' says he, '*dans cette maison, que l'on ne pouvoit plus s'y passer de moi.*' He also fell desperately in love, for the fifth time, with Miss Taylor, the companion of Miss Pitt, who returned his passion with equal ardour; whom he soon after met again in England, where they exchanged mutual vows of eternal fidelity; and whom he instantly gave over all thoughts of,—at least we hear no more of her through the whole course of the memoirs. From Miss Pitt he received a letter for her brother, the late Lord Chatham, who at first received him kindly, and then suddenly shut his door against him, in consequence of his sister having had some words with one of our author's relatives in France. After a short and unprofitable stay in England, he returned to his father's house, and fell sick. During a dangerous illness and tedious recovery, he was nursed by his sister, and taught religion; a lesson to which he owes his whole future happiness; and what he states as much more unmingled and exalted, the undeviating rectitude and unsullied purity of his whole subsequent life. In truth, we have not happened before to fall in with so perfect a character as these memoirs present to us. Mr Dutens candidly and frequently confesses, that, unfashionable as it may appear, his nature is blameless; and his conduct, in thought, word, and deed, for a period of fourscore years, altogether devoid of impropriety. Not that he glories in these high gifts. On the contrary, his motto is always '*Deo laus.*' He ascribes every thing to the salutary influence of religion.

Thus fortified and fitted out anew, he returned to London, and was soon after received into the family of a Mr Wyche, as tutor to his son. He now found, rather inopportunely, that he had grievously neglected his own education, and that he knew none of the things which he had been hired to teach. By incessant labour, however, he contrived to keep somewhat ahead of his pupil; and when, at length, Mr Wyche descried his ignorance of the higher branches of learning, he very amiably took upon himself the instruction both of his son and his tutor. In this worthy family, our author seems to have passed several very tranquil, profitable, and happy years. He describes his way of life with great feeling, and has excited, in his reader, no small interest in behalf of his amiable friends, when, unfortunately, his pupil dies. This event plunged him into a state of grief, not easily exceeded by any imagination, and he continued so absorbed

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ed for six months. The instruction of a young sister of his deceased pupil, born deaf and dumb, was the first occupation in which he could interest himself. By degrees he was more and more engaged by this pursuit; and, at last, he and his fair pupil became inseparable. But it is always the fate of Mr Dutens to be fallen in love with by his female friends; and Miss Wyche soon proved a most desperate lover. Ignorant of the forms and proprieties of life, she even went so far as to make a pretty bold attempt on our immaculate author's person. He, too, was not without senses and passions; but, on this trying emergency, where all morality must have failed, religion came to his aid, and saved him; insomuch, that he resolutely stopt the young lady in her singular pursuit, and took occasion to give her a concise dissertation on the nature of the matrimonial institution, the state of society, and other points of learning, for which, at that time, she seems to have had no great appetite. But the author must tell this story himself.

'Miss Wyche conçût de l'inclination pour moi. Un jour que nous etions seuls, et dans mon appartement, apres m'avoir fait quelques-unes de ces careſſes que je regardois comme tres innocentes, et auxquelles je m'étois preté avec la même intention, elle témoigna moins de retenue qu'à l'ordinaire. J'avoue que je fus embarraſſé de ſavoir en ce moment quel parti prendre: j'étois dans l'âge où les paſſions parlent fortement au cœur; j'avois une tendreſſe pour ma jolie éleve, que je croyois fondée à la vérité ſur la compaſſion; mais ne pouvois-je pas m'être fait illuſion? et les charmes d'une jeune fille de dix-huit ans n'étoient-ils pas plus propres à m'avoir inſpiré ce ſentiment que ſa ſituation infortunée? Quel que fût le motif de l'intérêt que je prenois à elle, heureuſement la conſideration de ce que je devois à moi-même, à une famille reſpectable, à l'honneur, à la religion, ſe préſentérent en foule à mon eſprit: j'eus preſque honte d'avoir héſité, et je retins Mademoiſelle Wyche d'une main, en lui ſerrant la main de l'autre, pour adoucir mon refus. Elle fut etonnée et même un peu confondue d' na réſiſtance; elle me fit des reproches de mon peu d'empreſſement, m'en demanda la raiſon. Je ſavois bien qu'il étoit inutile de lui parler de bon ordre néceſſaire à la ſociété, qui ſe maintient par le mariage, et que de ces deux principes naiſſent les régles de la décence et de la chaſteté; cependant je haſardai de lui tenir à peu près ce langage, qui lui parut encore plus incompréhenſible que celui que j'avois tenu ſur la divinité. Enfin, laſſe de ma morale, qu'elle n'entendoit point, elle me quitta fort mécontente de moi. Le lendemain elle me boudoit; je cherchai à la ramener, et je ne fus pas long-temps à y réuſſir; mais je ne fis ma paix que pour réſumer le ſujet de la veille: tout ce qu'elle avoit compris de mes raiſons, avoit été que le mariage rendoit les careſſes légitimes. Elle me demanda ſi elle avoit bien entendu? Je dis qu'oui. Eh bien! reprit-elle, marions-nous donc, et ne me tourmentez plus avec vos lois et vos régles. Je lui

dis

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dis qu'il falloit avoir le consentement de son père et de sa mère, qui peut-etre ne voudroient pas le donner; mais que je penserois au moyen de lever cette difficulté. Elle se retira plus contente de moi ce jour-là; mais je vis bien qu'elle n'étoit pas d'humeur à me laisser long-temps tranquille sur ce chapitre.' I. 93, 94.

The consequence of this adventure was, that, to avoid being married by Miss Wyche, he left the house, and accepted the offer of a gentleman going to Turin on a diplomatic mission, and who was in want of a private secretary.

Accordingly, he set out for Turin with Mr Mackenzie Stuart, brother of Lord Bute, and very soon, after his manner, became absolutely necessary to his patron's existence. At Turin, he enjoyed, of course, all the good society which belonged to the place; and which constantly received additions and varieties from the passage of travellers through that great thoroughfare of Italy. How far Mr Dutens profited by such enviable opportunities, must be decided by the experience of those who have known him in private life, and not altogether by his own general assertions. That his written life has benefited much less than it might have done, by his intercourse with eminent characters, may be safely affirmed. We meet with few good descriptions, either of manners or individuals; and not many anecdotes which, from their liveliness or instructiveness, deserve to be noticed. The two which follow are a very favourable specimen of his talent in this line; and are certainly somewhat interesting, as well from the celebrity of the men who are their subjects, as from the neatness of the narration.

'Une autre fois, nous parlions de l'avarice du fameux Duc de Marlborough; et je disois que je ne pouvois croire ce que l'on m'avoit dit de lui, qu'un soir, dans un tête-à-tête, il eût éteint une des deux bougies qui brûloient dans sa chambre. Cela est pourtant vrai, dit vivement le Marquis (de Breille), c'étoit avec moi: le Prince Eugène m'envoya un soir lui donner avis de quelque disposition qu'il faisoit pour une attaque le lendemain. Le Duc de Marlborough étoit déjà couché, on l'éveilla: je fus introduit auprès de son lit; un valet-de-chambre posa deux bougies sur la table de nuit, et se retira. Au commencement de la conversation, qui sembloit devoir être longue, le Duc de Marlborough, tout en m'écoutant, mit sans rien dire l'éteignoir sur une des bougies qui brûloient, et continua de prêter attention à ce que j'avois ordre de lui dire.' I. 108.

The other anecdote relates to Prince Kaunitz, and was communicated to our author by Count de Torre Palma, formerly Spanish ambassador at Vienna.

'Il crut s'apercevoir, à cette Cour, qu'on voyoit ses lettres; un jour, surtout, il fit remarquer à son secrétaire, avant de les décacheter, qu'un tel paquet devoit avoir été ouvert; et il en fut convaincu un moment

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après, lorſqu'ayant trouvé une dépêche qui n'étoit point ſignée, ſon ſecrétaire reconnut l'écriture pour être de main Allemande, et non Eſpagnole, et l'aſſura qu'elle étoit écrite de la main d'un des commis du Bureau des Affaires Etrangères. Il produiſit même des papiers donnés en réponſe à quelques-uns de leurs mémoires, qui ne laisserent plus lieu de douter de la vérité du fait; et ils s'imaginerent aisément que, dans la précipitation où ces choſes ſe font ordinairement dans les Bureaux, on avoit remis, dans l'enveloppe du paquet, la copie de la dépêche, au lieu de l'original. L'Ambaſſadeur, ſans perdre de temps, ſe tranſporte chez le Prince de Kaunitz; il eſt admis: Mon Prince, dit-il, ordonnez, je vous prie, que vos commis me reſtituent ma dépêche, dont ils m'ont envoyé ſeulement la copie, et gardé l'original. Ah! M. l'Ambaſſadeur, dit le Prince, ſans paroître embarraſſé, je vous demande mille pardons de la peine que vous avez eue; ces étourdis me font tous les jours de pareils traits. Diſant cela, il ſonne, et fait appeler un de ces ſecrétaires: Allons donc, Monſieur, rendez la dépêche de M. l'Ambaſſadeur, dont il n'a reçu que la copie; et apprenez une autre fois à ne point faire de tels *quiproquo*. Et quand la dépêche fut produite; M. l'Ambaſſadeur, dit le Prince, en la lui remettant, je ſuis mortifié que leur ſottiſe vous ait occaſionné ce dérangement; et il le reconduiſit fort poliment, ſans paroître attacher plus d'importance à la bévue qui lui attiroit cette viſite.' I. 117, 118.

When Mr Mackenzie, his principal, was obliged to return home, our author, though a Frenchman, and at a period when this country was at war with France, was left our *chargé d'affaires* at the court of Turin. It is needless to add, that he performed the functions of his office to admiration; and he strictly pursued also the line of undeviating morality. In all the intrigues of court, as well as in affairs of the heart, he assures us, his conduct was pure and exemplary. Not a blot could ever attach to his name. Nor was this owing, says he, as some superficial observers conceived, to philosophy. That would, he affirms, be paying philosophy too great a compliment—'*La religion ſeule peut fournir des armes à l'épreuve des traits de l'amour, et de la volupté. Heureuſement pour moi, je n'ai jamais perdu de vue une reſſource auſſi efficace qu'elle eſt ſalutaire.*' The rigid observance of truth and sincerity was one of the innovations which his principles made him introduce into his new profession. He talks much of this, and cites an instance of his frustrating a political design of his principal, and incurring his indignation, by refusing to say *yes* instead of *no* on an immaterial occasion. After these *tirades*, the reader who is aware of this species of moralist, is led to expect some signal example of unfairness and duplicity. Accordingly, five pages after the above remarks, we find Mr Dutens relating how, in order to gain credit with the ministry in his new functions, he concealed certain information of importance from his principal, who was

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was also his patron and benefactor, and wrote it in a despatch to Mr Pitt the very day of his departure.

After filling this very respectable station for several months, he returned to England by the way of Paris. There he made himself agreeable to the English whom he happened to meet; and had an opportunity in their company of seeing Sterne, of whom he relates the following anecdote, being one among many proofs of that sentimental person's contemptible character.

'Nous étions au temps de l'anniversaire de la naissance du Roi d'Angleterre: Milord Tavistock invita, ce jour-là, le peu d'Anglois qui étoient à Paris, à dîner avec lui pour le célébrer. Je fus de la partie, où je ne trouvai de ma connoissance que ceux avec qui j'étois venu à Paris. Je fus assis entre Milord Berkeley, qui alloit à Turin, et le fameux *Sterne*, auteur de *Tristram Shandy*, regardé comme le Rabelais de l'Angleterre. On fut fort gai pendant le dîner, et l'on but à l'Angloise, et selon le jour. La conversation vint à tomber sur Turin, où plusieurs de la compagnie alloient; sur quoi M. Sterne m'adressant la parole, me demanda si j'y connoissois M. D*** en me nommant; je lui dis qu'oui, et même fort intimement. Toute la compagnie se prit à rire; et Sterne, qui ne me croyoit pas si près de lui, s'imagina que ce M. D*** devoit être un homme assez bizarre, puisque son nom seul faisoit rire ceux qui l'entendoient. N'est-ce pas un homme un peu singulier? ajouta-t-il tout de suite. Oui, repris-je, un original. Je m'en étois bien douté, continua-t-il; j'ai entendu parler de lui; et là-dessus il se mit à faire mon portrait, auquel je fis mine d'acquiescer; et voyant que le sujet réjouissoit la compagnie, il se mit à inventer, dans la fertilité de son esprit, plusieurs contes à sa façon, qu'il fit durer, au grand plaisir de tous, jusqu'à ce que l'heure vint de se séparer. Je sortis le premier; et à peine fus-je hors de la maison, qu'on lui dit qui j'étois: on lui donna à entendre que, par respect pour Milord Tavistock, je m'étois contenu; mais que je n'étois pas traitable, et qu'il pouvoit s'attendre à me voir, le lendemain, lui demander raison des méchans propos qu'on lui persuada qu'il avoit tenus de moi. Il crut, en effet, qu'il avoit poussé la raillerie trop loin; car il étoit un peu gai: il vint le jour suivant me trouver, et me demander pardon de ce qu'il pouvoit avoir dit qui m'eût déplu, s'excusant sur la circonstance, et sur la démangeaison qu'il avoit eue d'amuser un peu la compagnie, qu'il y avoit vue si bien disposée, dès qu'il avoit prononcé mon nom; mais je l'arrêtai tout court, en l'assurant que je m'étois amusé de son erreur autant qu'un autre; qu'il n'avoit rien dit qui pût m'offenser; et que, s'il connoissoit l'homme dont il avoit parlé, aussi bien que je le faisois, il en auroit pu dire beaucoup plus de mal. Il fut enchanté de ma réponse, m'embrassa, me demanda mon amitié, et me quitta fort satisfait de moi.' (I. 165–7.)

He seems to have known pretty accurately what went on at the negotiations for the peace of Paris, and gives rather a curious account of the mode in which they were conducted. The Bailli de Solar was Sardinian minister at Paris, and enjoyed the Duc de

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Choiseul's confidence. The Count de Viry was Sardinian minister at London; and both these functionaries were charged by their master to lend every assistance to the treaty in contemplation. Accordingly, Lord Bute received always his orders from the King (by which, we presume, Mr Dutens means the Cabinet), and then communicated them to his brother Mr Mackenzie, who gave them to Viry, and he transmitted them to the Bailli de Solar at Paris, who discussed the matter, according to their tenor, with Choiseul. Choiseul and Lord Bute corresponded also directly; and, as soon as any article was agreed on, it was passed officially through Lord Egremont's department. When the preliminaries were finally settled, they were signed, as is well known, by the Duke of Bedford at Paris, and the Duc de Nivernois at London.

After remaining some time at London, obtaining a good pension, and augmenting the list of noblemen to whose existence he was more than half necessary, our author returned to Turin, and again resumed the functions of *chargé d'affaires*. He employed his leisure in writing several of the works known by his name, and in publishing his edition of Leibnitz. In compiling this edition, he had occasion to write a preface upon certain points in mathematical science, which he confesses he understands nothing about. It was so much approved of, that he argues from thence in favour of authors confining themselves to subjects of which they are ignorant; a theory which may guide us, perhaps, in divining the reasons for Mr Dutens's choice of topics in some of his subsequent speculations. After a stay of several months at Turin, he once more left it; and does not by any means conceal his disappointment at the King of Sardinia allowing him to depart without making him a present of a snuff-box, on which he had entirely made up his mind.

About the time of our author's return to England, his acquaintance with the Northumberland family commenced. It seems to have been his only failure; at least he got nothing by it: and accordingly, the noble persons of that house are absolutely the only characters of any distinction, towards whom, during the whole of his book, he allows himself the smallest freedom of criticism. Against them, however, he did not fail to play off assiduously the whole artillery of his talents in society; and to recommend himself to their good graces, seems to have been the primary object of his life, from the moment he was admitted into Northumberland house, up to the unfortunate period of the Duke's going into opposition. The following sketch of his *debût* in that family may illustrate some of our remarks upon Mr Dutens's habits and manners, and prepare our readers for the opinion which we shall find it necessary to state

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state respecting him before concluding the present article. After mentioning the members of the noble family in question, and shortly describing them, he adds—

'Voilà quelles étoient les deux personnes auxquelles je consacrai tout mon temps et mes soins, avec le zele que peut donner seul l'enthousiasme. J'étois ébloui de la magnificence du Duc; comme enchanté par les politesses et les attentions dont il m'honoroit, et surtout flatté de la distinction que faisoit de moi la Duchesse. Ayant alors plus de souplesse dans l'esprit que je n'ai à présent, je la mettois toute en usage pour les intéresser en ma faveur. Le Duc aimoit les arts et les sciences; j'entrois dans tous ses goûts, je causois avec lui sur tous les sujets; et il trouvoit qu'il pouvoit varier davantage la conversation avec moi, qu'avec tout autre. La Duchesse se plaisoit, au contraire, à des petits jeux d'esprit dans un cercle d'amis, et s'amusoit à recueillir des estampes, des médailles, et à faire d'autres collections en différens genres: j'avois l'air de n'avoir jamais fait autre chose; et le soir j'assistois à ses jeux de société, et me rendois utile à ses plaisirs: cette suite d'attentions ne fut interrompue que par une petite expédition que je fis à Paris.' (I. 227–8.)

The catastrophe of the Duke going into opposition, which seems all at once to have changed our author's opinion of him, is mentioned in the following moving terms: 'Le Duc s'étoit jetté depuis peu dans le parti de l'opposition, et precisement dans le même tems le benefice de vingt mille livres de rente qui le Roi m'avoit promis étoit venu à vaquer,' &c. Although the new light which this conduct of the Duke gave our author respecting his character, could not fail to alter his whole system of tactics regarding Northumberland-House, yet he did not fail, from time to time, when he had no other great man to beset, and was, as it were, out of place, to frequent that haunt of his younger days. He seems always, on such occasions, to have had his hopes renewed, although he soon discovered that the Duke did nothing for his dependants; and, at length, no longer able to bear his fate in making nothing out of him, he retired in disgust to the country, despising the world, hating the great who had so grievously neglected him, and abjuring, for the rest of his life, all attendance upon rich men and lords. Nay, so seriously did he set about this radical reform in his system, that he took with him Regnier's *Satyre sur les Grands*,' 'afin d'avoir toujours avec moi cet excellent preservatif contre les attraits de leur commerce.'

Thus equipped for philosophy, and resolved to live for himself, did Mr Dutens, at the ripe age of fifty years, quit, for the first time, the habits of a dangler in large houses, and plunge into the attractive pleasure of solitude and literature, a country parsonage, and a limited tenth part of that produce which he had been accustomed to enjoy entirely. But the change was of transient duration. Either Regnier's Satyre had lost its virtue, or the country

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had ceased to charm, or our author's mind soared above his lot; for the next chapter begins with this title, ' *Inconstance et foiblesse de l'auteur—Il s'embarque de nouveau sur la mer orageuse du grand monde;* ' and the chapter proceeds to tell, how, almost as soon as he had begun his new plan of life, he read in a newspaper Lord Mountstuart's appointment as resident at Turin, and instantly set all his engines of intrigue in motion to get himself adopted as his private secretary. This attempt was successful, and he set out with the family, as usual, in the capacity of what is vulgarly termed a *fac-totum*, and sometimes gets a worse appellation, but is more politely and picturesquely described in the following sentences.

' Milady étoit enceinte de six mois. C'étoit parla que je valois quelque chose, Je me chargeai de tout; je la priai de se reposer sur moi du succès de son voyage, et j'acquis si bien sa confiance, par mes soins et mon zele pour elle, qu'il n'y avoit plus moyen de se passer de moi. On n'entreprenoit rien, on ne faisoit rien, que je n'eusse été consulté, et que je n'eusse donné mon approbation; j'étois le chef de l'expedition, l'oracle de la partie, un homme unique; on me devoit tout ce bien-être dont on jouissoit.'—' Quel bonheur,' he very naturally adds, or makes them exclaim, we know not which, ' quel bonheur d'avoir un tel ami! Qu'auroit-on fait sans moi?' II. 150.

This visit to the Continent presents the same incidents with the former ones. Mr Dutens is the life of Turin, and of every other place where Providence bestows him—the soul of the business in which he is required to take a part—and, indeed, to say the truth, of all the other business that goes on near him; for in all he takes his share. Lord and Lady Mountstuart tire of him; he intrigues a reconciliation; travels about sometimes with them, sometimes alone, in which case he carries along with him a travelling library of select volumes in *nine* different languages, and is received every where, particularly by princes, and most of all by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, afterwards Leopold II., with a distinguished attention, ' which would have tempted him to form a high opinion of his own merit.' ' Si je n'avois pas été autant en garde que je l'étois, contre l'amour propre et la vanité.' This accounts easily and expeditiously for what the reader would otherwise have been surprised at, the remarkable modesty of Mr Dutens's style. Another quality which he confesses to, is *mauvaise-honte*. ' J'ai toujours eu une mauvaise-honte, qui dans plusieurs occasions m'a jeté dans l'embarras.' One straightway wonders how such a quality as this could have permitted our author to pursue the profession to which his life has so successfully been devoted; but he proceeds to explain it as follows: ' Je n'ai jamais pu refuser tout net une offre avantageuse, on flatteuse en apparence, quelque éloignée qu'elle pût être de me convenir;' from which

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which the young student of French may gather, that *mauvaise-honte* signifies, according to the best authors, '*greediness.*'

The various excursions to the Continent, related in the course of Mr Dutens's second volume, produce very few anecdotes of sufficient interest to relieve the general dullness of the narrative, and offer but little information which is worth the trouble of extracting or abridging. He describes, with some liveliness, the manner of entertainment at a great French chateau, in his account of his residence with the family of Choiseul. No style of living, indeed, can be figured more perfectly refined, more abundant in all the elegance and delicacy of the most polished times, or more calculate to secure the enjoyment of the highest of all pleasures, the delights of perfectly good society. We regret that the passage is too long for an extract; and it obviously does not admit of an abridgement. His accounts of various French characters of eminence are marked by no prominent quality, except ignorance of general subjects, frequently coupled with intolerable prejudice and bigotry. Turgot is accused of the narrowest and most contemptible jealousy in little things; and he is denounced as a friend of anarchy, because a 'friend to the economists, and other false philosophers.' This idea of the Economists is indeed rather amusing. They were, it seems, a subdivision of the Encyclopedists, whom the Duke de Choiseul humorously used to call '*Les Capucins de l'Encyclopedie*;' and 'to be admitted into their number, it was only necessary for a multitude of middling writers to adorn their works with some common-place against the most sacred and respectable of subjects.' The author of a work on the comparative progress of different ages in all the various branches of human science, might have naturally been expected to know a little more of the history of the most recent sect of philosophers which has acquired any celebrity. His chief violence, however, is reserved for M. Condorcet, because he had attacked an obscure work of M. Dutens. His character is therefore traduced without moderation or measure. He is talked of as an ignorant, despicable person, and treated, through several clumsy pages of bad raillery, with an insufferable tone of contempt. 'Il étoit,' says our author, 'le dénigreur de mon ouvrage.' Of d'Alembert a better account is given; and we cheerfully extract the following passage, which conveys a very amiable trait in the character of that illustrious man.

'M. d'Alembert étoit fils naturel de Madame de Tencin, sœur du Cardinal de ce nom, et de M. Destouches. Il fut exposé à sa naissance, et recueilli par la femme d'un vitrier, qui en prit soin comme de son propre fils. Cependant M. Destouches, qui ne l'avoit pas perdu de vue, pourvut à son éducation, et fit parvenir secretement les moyens

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nécessaires pour y subvenir. Quand il devint célèbre par son esprit et son savoir, il fut introduit dans le monde par Madame la Marquise du Deffant. Madame de Tencin, qui aimoit les beaux esprits, eût bien voulu le reconnoître; mais il se refusa à son désir, en disant qu'il ne reconnoissoit point d'autre mère que celle qui avoit pris soin de son enfance. En effet, il regarda toujours la pauvre vitrière comme sa mère, et continua d'avoir pour elle les plus grandes attentions jusqu'à sa mort. Il connut Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse chez Madame du Deffant, qui l'avoit fait venir de province pour lui tenir compagnie: elle étoit fille naturelle du Marquis du Deffant, et elle avoit une humeur et un esprit si agréables qu'elle faisoit les délices de la société de cette dame. Mais s'étant brouillée avec elle, M. d'Alembert épousa sa querelle; et tous deux ayant pris un appartement dans la même maison, ils y établirent une assemblée de beaux esprits, qui enleva à Madame du Deffant une grande partie de ceux qui frequentoient sa maison.' II. 59, 60.

In the whole course of his Memoirs, we have already hinted, Mr Dutens never can be brought to talk slightingly or disrespectfully of any person of wealth or rank. An admiration, approaching to devotion, binds him, on all occasions of this description. Peter III. of Russia, he seems to think, on the authority of Princess D'Ashkoff, died a natural death. All kings are immaculate; all courtiers pure and able, provided they do not quarrel with the ministry of the day; and all persons, of whatever rank, having large houses, full of good cheer, and open to parasites, are secure of the immortality which our author dispenses, and obtain a share of the same gift for their friends and guests. We have seldom met, in romance, with such an assemblage of all-accomplished persons, as the knot whom he describes as frequenting Mr Mackenzie's house. One of these perfect characters, however, Count Woronzow, has been rather shy of accepting the eulogiums poured upon him: in truth, immediately upon reading in Mr Dutens that he had gained a battle or two by his personal prowess and skill, and further, that his son, when a boy, was called by General Tzitzianoff, his right hand, he published a letter in all the newspapers, affirming that there was not the slightest foundation for either of those stories. Should all the noble and wealthy characters, who are praised without reserve in these volumes, adopt the same method of vindicating the truth, we fear the publication of the work would rather lead to troublesome consequences. Before concluding this topic, we may add, that nothing, even in this book, comes up to the fulsomeness of adulation with which the lady of one of the present ministry is attacked, we can call it nothing else, under the form of a character drawn of her, and which was transmitted to herself. After a mass of the most disgusting flattery, of panegyric infinitely too great for the merits of any human being, he adds, as a candid admission to give his sketch

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ſketch relief, that this lady has perhaps one fault, ſhe is ſomewhat too ſevere in her hatred of vice, and her contempt for folly.

Having, in the courſe of this article, given a ſketch of Mr Dutens's own hiſtory, we ſhall now briefly cloſe it. Notwithſtanding the Duke of Northumberland forfeited his monopoly of our author, by leaving the court party, and by doing nothing great for him, and notwithſtanding his bitter feelings againſt him on theſe accounts, he was far from forſaking that noble perſon; more eſpecially as he advanced in life, and approached the period when men uſually think of leaving the world, and of ſettling their affairs, diſtributing their earthly goods, &c. our author's aſſiduities ſeem to have quickened. We lament to find that he did not reap the fruits of ſo wiſe and judicious a line of conduct. With Mr Mackenzie he was more fortunate. When that gentleman died, how great was his aſtoniſhment, to find that he had left him a third part of his perſonal property—an equal ſhare with his two nephews! At this he rejoiced, becauſe 'it was an honourable ſanction to his character and conduct, to be remembered in the will of ſo reſpectable a perſon as Mr Mackenzie;' which is a very new reaſon for being pleaſed at receiving a large legacy.

Upon the whole, our opinion of this work and of its author, is nearly the ſame. Neither the merits of the one, nor the life of the other, claim any conſiderable portion of our reſpect. Of the various capacities in which he has appeared—as an author of forgotten books—an attendant upon the rich and great—a leader of their children round the tour of Europe—a clergyman—a *chargé d'affaires*—the hiſtorian of his own life and times—and a meaſurer of the poſt-roads on the Continent,—we chiefly value him in his laſt function. It may be thought going out of our bounds, thus to criticiſe the life and character of an author, when his works only are before us: but let it be remembered, that the nature of his preſent publication brings his perſonal merits directly under our review. We muſt therefore be excuſed for expreſſing our free opinion, that the main occupation of his life has been one which frequently brings learning and wit into contempt, by ſubjecting thoſe pure and ineſtimable gifts to the caprices of rank, and the vulgar inſolence of wealth; and that Mr Dutens can only now claim our reſpect in his quality of a worn-out *odometer*, which may have been ſerviceable in its day.

ART.

ART. IX. *A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. on the Justice and Expediency of Slavery and the Slave Trade, and on the best Means to improve the Manners and Condition of the Negroes in the West Indies.* By Robert Heron, Esq. London. Maxwell & Jordan, 1806.

POLITICAL controversy has sometimes been compared to prize-fighting; but the defeated literary champion of a desperate cause, has one great advantage over the beaten pugilist. When a champion is unable to sustain the honours of his fist against a new rival, there is no choice but to *give in*, or to have his ribs beat in by his antagonist. But, in the conflicts of the pen, no such dire alternative awaits the vanquished combatant. If he possess only enough of that *bottom*, which is said to abound on the banks of the Shannon, he can never be compelled to surrender. Though knocked down a hundred times, and unable to *stand up to his man* a moment without *shifting*, he may make at least a drawn battle; for he may protract the contest till his antagonist is weary, till the spectators and judges are tired out, and even the bottle-holders quit the ring in disgust.

We can imagine no other motive for the temerity of the slave-traders in venturing upon another round, where the odds are so fearfully against them. If the most complete falsification of all their premises of fact; if the strongest impeachment of the principles on which they rely; if the clearest refutation of the shocking inferences for which, upon those bad principles and false premises, they contend; or if the frequent repetition of all these falling blows, could have silenced the apologists of the slave-trade, there would long since have been an end of this controversy.

But there are no limits to the power of restating the same arguments which have been refuted, and repeating the same falsehoods which have been disproved; and to do this without at all noticing the decisive answers which have been given, or the conclusive evidence which has been adduced against them, is the constant policy of these writers.

We lament to say, that it is an artifice by no means useless to that bad cause, on behalf of which it is employed. A pamphlet is pushed out, opportunely, when any new application to Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade is approaching, and is circulated by other means than its own proper attractions, or the assiduity of the publisher, in those channels where its influence may chance to be useful. Unfortunately, this great and most interesting subject, though so familiar to the public ear by name, is still known only by name, to a considerable portion of the community,

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munity, and even to men of great political influence, as some striking and honourably candid confessions lately made in Parliament may evince; and when such men begin to inquire what the grounds of this famous controversy are, they naturally look for information on that side, in support of which ordinary notions and feelings can furnish no arguments *a priori*, to account for its having been so long and successfully defended. A new pamphlet, therefore, in defence of the slave trade, may find many readers, who neither know, nor are likely to take pains to inquire, what has formerly been written or proved on the other side; and, with such persons, a tenth edition of old falsehoods, with a new title, will pass as well as new inventions, supposing that their predecessors in this honourable service had left any thing for their present followers to invent. To offer proofs of the facts asserted, or even to mention that they have been controverted, might put the reader on his guard. These writers therefore carefully avoid that hazard, and either tacitly or expressly assume, that they reason from premises which their opponents do not dispute; a proceeding, the very effrontery of which, in a cause which has been publicly agitated during eighteen years, prevents the suspicion of an ordinary reader, and therefore often obtains for these impostures a ready and implicit belief.

These remarks may convey a salutary caution to such of our readers as are not well acquainted with the Parliamentary evidence and arguments on the great subject which Mr Heron has undertaken to discuss. We do not mean, however, to insinuate that the writings of this gentleman are likely to have any such effect. Our caution rather points at his fellow-labourers in general; and we heartily wish, that, in the use of the same fictitious premises, they had all reasoned from them as innocently as the author before us.

The well chosen vehicle of Mr Heron's effusions, is a violent impeachment of that vile man Mr Wilberforce, who is interrogated and objurgated in every page, and accused of *diabolical* perseverance in his attempts to abolish those harmless '*modes of emigration, and of subordination,*' the slave trade and West India slavery. This, we are told, is '*a constancy worthy even of the second hero of Milton's Epos.*'

The moral taste of the public has perhaps already been sufficiently nauseated with the false pathos of writers, who would press the heart into a service hostile to morality; but the most licentious German dramatist, and the most tawdry novelists of the French or English school, may be pardoned for their disgusting affectation, when advocates for the African slave trade begin to use the pathetic. Mr Heron, however, is a most impassioned admirer

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admirer of this amiable commerce. He is '*irresistibly moved*' to arraign the conduct of Mr Wilberforce; and being unable adequately to express his humane and righteous emotions in his own glowing prose, he borrows the language of a poet, and exclaims,

'*Fear, pity, justice, indignation, start;*
Tear off reserve, and bare my swelling heart.'

The circumstances which induce us to take any notice of this unhappy tract, are twofold. In the first place, we wish to remark how strange it is that the West India body should employ such advocates, and 'enrich by their communications,' as we find they have done, such a work as the present. It is very agreeable, indeed, to reflect that no better author can now be seduced to plead their cause. But can they possibly think that any point is to be gained by such an advocate as Mr Heron? We shall not pretend to give any account of his arguments, or any specimens of a style, altogether unique for bombast, and approaching nearer to the manner of *Lieutenant* Pistol than of any living author. But we must be permitted to ask, whether the slave trade is now meant to be supported on some of the novel grounds here traced out by this confidant of the merchants and planters? He actually maintains, that it is defensible on the soundest principles of political economy. For, he observes, do not emigrations continually go on, shiftings of population, passages of men from one district to another? Do not the cities constantly draw supplies of inhabitants from the country, and the richer from the poorer districts? Nay, is not the same thing observable of the *lower animals*, who are always brought from the poor to the wealthy country, and from the country to the town? He then triumphantly upbraids Mr Wilberforce for his ignorance of these points of political economy; and dares him, now that he is enlightened upon this subject, to whisper a suspicion of the slave trade being either contrary to the order of nature, or to the dictates of sound political wisdom. We cite this argument as a real curiosity, confident that it stands unmatched in the whole history of controversies.

But we have another and a more admissible reason for taking notice of this performance. It gives us an opportunity of congratulating our readers on the great progress which the cause of abolition has made during the last session of Parliament, by the unshaken steadiness of its original supporters, and the powerful assistance of Government. We shall briefly mention the most important particulars in the late proceedings upon this question, consistently with our plan of continuing from time to time the history of this momentous affair.

Soon

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Soon after the formation of the present ministry, the Attorney-general, with the entire concurrence of the Cabinet, and in his official capacity, brought in an important bill, which passed both Houses of Parliament without any very formidable opposition, and afterwards received the Royal assent. This bill, which is now a public law, prohibits the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after the first of January next, and prohibits all subjects of this country, residing either here or in our foreign settlements, from being in any way concerned in, or accessory to, the supply of foreign countries with slaves, after the first of January. This prohibition, intended to prevent the investment of British capital, or the employment of British vessels and seamen in the foreign slave trade, and thereby to cut off a large portion of that commerce, is carried into effect by various salutary regulations and well-contrived penalties. The ship and cargo of any British trader engaged in the prohibited trade, either from our colonies or from Africa, or from other places to foreign settlements, are to be forfeited, and a further penalty levied of 60*l.* Sterling for each slave. A similar forfeiture is to take place of any vessel employed in supplying foreign ships with slaves on the coast of Africa, and a penalty of 100*l.* Sterling is to be levied from any British subject engaged in furnishing, or indirectly forwarding, such a supply. A clause is also inserted, to which we refer our readers, as exceedingly satisfactory and well meant, (sect. VI.), for the purpose of preventing British credit or capital from being embarked in the foreign slave trade. Every method by which British subjects, or persons resident in our dominions, may be conceived to aid the slave trade, is anxiously enumerated. Investment of stock,—loan of money,—loan of vessels,—becoming collateral security to such loans, &c. are all declared unlawful, and liable to a forfeiture of double the sums advanced; and all bonds or other securities given for such unlawful loans are declared to be null and void, except in the hands of *bona fide* purchasers. Moreover, all insurances on such prohibited transactions are declared void, and further subjected to a penalty of five hundred pounds Sterling. It is likewise declared to be unlawful to assist in the outfitting of any foreign vessels sailing for Africa; and severe penalties are attached to this offence. All British vessels clearing out for the slave trade, are required to give bond not to engage directly or indirectly in the foreign slave trade. The same requisition must be complied with in the case of slaves exported from one British settlement to another; and all vessels arriving in our colonies are to make declaration at the nearest customhouse, accompanied with evidence from log-books, surgeon's testimony and journal, and testimony of the other

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other officers, that no slaves have been landed contrary to the intent of the act. Such are the multiplied regulations by which this wise and virtuous law prevents effectually any British subject from being accessory to the foreign slave trade. But it goes a step further, and lends its assistance to the order in council, which was passed last session, for preventing the importation of slaves into the colonies conquered by our armies during the present war. That order could, of course, only begin to operate upon the vessels when they came to the conquered settlement. The power of the Crown extended no further. But this act extends its whole provisions, in the case of the foreign slave trade, to the prevention of the trade for the supply of the conquered colonies, in every stage of its progress; so that the intention of that salutary order is now completely fulfilled, and an effectual stop put, with the few trivial exceptions noticed on a former occasion (No. XIII.), to the whole importation of negroes into the extensive settlements of Dutch Guiana, St Lucia, Tobago, &c.

Nor has the enlightened zeal of ministers stopt here, though, had they done no more for the abolition, they would have proved themselves its firm friends. They soon after brought forward another bill, which has now, with scarcely any resistance, nearly gone through the Parliament, for the purpose of preventing the increase of the British slave trade in all its branches. As this wise measure is not yet completely passed into a law, and may of consequence receive further modification in its details, we shall only state that its general object is meant to be attained, by prohibiting any vessel, under severe penalties, from being engaged in the African trade, unless it can prove, before certain public functionaries, that it was formerly employed in the same traffic. We may here remark, that some additional regulations will be necessary, in order to render this well intended measure effectual to the proposed end of preventing a further increase of the British slave trade. For the bill, prohibiting British ships from being employed in the foreign slave trade, will, it is to be hoped, throw out of employment many such vessels; and they will naturally seek for employment in our own slave trade, and thus increase it, in spite of the new bill. This we merely throw out as a hint to those engaged in the framing of this measure; and trust that, next session, a new bill will be taken into consideration to remedy this defect in the principle of the present enactment.

The next measure which the ministry brought forward, with the view of effecting the abolition of the slave trade, was a resolution against that traffic, couched in very decided language. This resolution was moved by Mr Fox in the House of Commons;

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mons; and, after an animated discussion, the House declared, by a very large majority, that the African slave trade is contrary to justice, humanity, and sound policy, and pledged itself to take effectual measures for its abolition, with all practicable expedition. This resolution was then sent up to the Lords, and a conference demanded 'upon a matter, in which the reputation of the country, for justice, humanity, and sound policy, is deeply interested.' Accordingly, after this conference, the Lords joined in the same resolution, on the motion of Lord Grenville, by a large majority of votes.

The last step taken in this great work, was an address from the Houses of Parliament to the King, 'beseeching him to take such measures, as may appear most effectual for obtaining, by negotiation, the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave trade, and the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpose.'

During the whole of the debates on the general question, to which these different motions gave rise, the subject was discussed with uncommon temper; and the warm support of Government, as well as the apparent improvement in the feeling of the Upper House, gave universal satisfaction to all the friends of the cause. Some singular arguments were indeed used in its favour, by eminent persons not formerly propitious to the abolition—arguments by which we hope no one will ever be influenced to vote for any innovation in our commercial economy. It was said, that the foreign slave trade, carried on by our merchants, should be stopt, not because it is just, humane, and politic to diminish, by every possible means, that abominable traffic, but because it was said to be an 'undoubted principle in political economy,' to prevent foreign nations from cultivating, and your own traders from supplying them with 'your staple articles.' So the slave trade is a favourite with some persons for its own sake. It is to be cherished like the woollen trade. It is to be made an object of national prejudice and legislative protection. Then it is to be protected by restrictive laws preventing its extension, as you would protect the growth of corn by prohibiting its exportation. Such were the grievous blunders of those distinguished persons, upon what they termed, with the familiarity of old acquaintance, 'the known principles of political science;' and so curiously did they contrive to defend the restriction of the slave trade, upon the only ground on which it is absolutely indefensible; for if you call that traffic a *staple*, and a good in itself, surely every principle of political science is at war with all attempts at stunting its growth from jealousy of rivals. But it seems to be the fate of the best measures, never to attract the esteem of some men, unless they can be supported upon bad principles;

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principles; and you go far to bring them over to your side, if you permit them to fight for you with unlawful weapons.

While we freely censure such narrow views as those just now alluded to, it is a matter of real satisfaction to us to see the opposite arguments of the abolitionists so cordially supported by the whole of his Majesty's ministers. The whole of their conduct in this momentous business, has been pure, steady, and zealous. They have proposed the wisest plans for attaining the most virtuous and salutary object which a great nation ever struggled to accomplish; and they have defended their schemes by the most fair and liberal arguments, combining, in all their discussions, a thorough knowledge of the question before them, with an extensive appeal to the best principles of political science, and a sensibility to the great doctrines of public justice. They have reaped the reward of their enlightened exertions. While the general resolutions which they have carried give a solemn pledge to the world of a total abolition of the traffic next session of Parliament, the legislative measures already adopted have checked the growth of the evil at home, and greatly diminished its magnitude abroad. The 38,000 slaves exported annually from Africa in British vessels, are only in a small proportion destined for the use of our own colonies;—above 22,000 are stated, by the friends of the trade, to be intended for the foreign settlements. To this must be added a large number of slaves carried by British vessels under cover of the neutral flags. From certain documents which we have had an opportunity of consulting, we cannot estimate these at less than 8000; and the supply of the conquered colonies considerably exceeds 10,000 annually; so that, in the course of one session of Parliament, a slave trade *has been abolished*, which used to carry over yearly above forty thousand innocent and miserable persons, from their peaceful homes, through the multiplied horrors of the voyage, to perpetual bondage and wretchedness in the West Indian plantations; and a stop has been put to all the murders, torture and plunder, which were daily and hourly desolating the continent of Africa, for the supply of so enormous a consumption of human flesh.

For so great a blessing, humanity itself—the name of man, all over the world, rescued from such a stain,—is deeply indebted to the exertions of the British Parliament. Nor let us, the while, forget our obligations to those private individuals who first brought the evil to light, and ceased not, until they had pursued it to judgment. Most of all, let our gratitude be testified to that man, who has begun and led this glorious struggle—who has devoted to its success all his days, and all his talents—who has retired from all recompense for his labours, save the satisfaction of doing good to his fellow-creatures, who, giving up

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up to mankind what others have sacrificed to party, has preferred the glory of living in the recollection of a grateful world, to the shining rewards of a limited ambition. Had he failed as entirely as he is now likely to succeed in the great object of his exertions, his name would have equally merited a place among the benefactors of our species. But men will always judge by the event; and we now rejoice to contemplate this distinguished person, standing, as it were, on the brink of his final triumph, in the greatest battle ever fought by human beings, and an object, we really think, of just envy to the most ambitious of mortals.

ART. X. *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting.* By Charles Bell. 4to. pp. 186. Longman & Co. London. 1806.

THIS we think is a very elegant and interesting publication; and though the want of engravings will prevent us from giving our readers a complete conception of its contents, we think they will be gratified by a pretty full account of its leading doctrines.

Ever since we recollect any thing, we have been moved by the lamentations of young artists, complaining of the want of some book, which might teach them the elements and the uses of anatomy. The difficulty was to find a skilful anatomist, who understood and sympathized with their wants and distresses, and who could not only detect the errors into which they were led by their ignorance, but could accommodate his instructions to their taste and capacity, and render his lessons at once intelligible and attractive. Hitherto they have not been favoured, at least in this country, with such an instructor; and the poor painter has been obliged, either to persuade himself that there was no use in anatomy, or to make a desperate attempt to acquire a knowledge of it from catalogues of hideous names, and dry tabular plans of bones and blood-vessels; relieved, occasionally, with surgical and nosological observations, and remarks upon every thing but the application of this learning to his profession.*

Mr

* We do not think that the accuracy of this general statement will be much affected, by referring to any of the publications which have hitherto been given to the world under similar titles with the work now before us. The famous work of Le Brun has been abandoned as worse

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Mr Bell has not propoſed, in the work before us, to remedy the whole of theſe evils: what he has now executed is but a prelude, we hope, to a more extenſive and ſyſtematic production, in which, on the one hand, the operation of the mind on the body, will be fully and minutely inveſtigated, and on the other, the whole anatomical knowledge which is requiſite for the artiſt, will be delivered in a ſtyle as perſpicuous and engaging as that of the ſpecimens which are here offered to the public. In the preſent volume of Eſſays, it ſeems rather to have been the author's deſign to point out the infinite importance of anatomical ſtudy to the painter, and to ſhow to what a variety of pleaſing and important diſcoveries it will inſenſibly conduct him. In the execution of this taſk, he has not only given new proofs of his intimate acquaintance with his profeſſional ſcience, but has indicated a taſte and a feeling, for the excellences both of ſculpture and of painting, that is not always to be met with in a regularly bred artiſt; and entered, at the ſame time, into all the difficulties and perplexities of the ſtudent, with a zeal and a ſympathy which cannot fail to be very gratifying. He has found occaſion, too, to ſcatter over his work many traits of a delicate moral ſenſibility; and not only to embelliſh it with claſſical alluſions, but to give it dignity and authority, by appealing to the leſſons of a philoſophy, which is not often reſorted to by the votaries of ſuch ſtudies.

With all theſe merits, the work has conſiderable defects. It is not perfectly well written; there is ſomething cumbrous and overloaded in the diction; and occaſional paſſages of falſe eloquence. The arrangement is not always happy; and in treating

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than useleſs, by every ſtudent who had been led to reſort to it. His view of the anatomy is by no means ſcientific or preciſe; and many of his ſketches of the paſſions are inaccurate in this very particular. There is a work publiſhed by Dr Briſbane, in 1769, under the name of the Anatomy of Painting; but it contains little more than the ſix tables of Albinus, with a confeſſion of the author's ignorance of the art of deſign, and a wiſh that ſome perſon, qualified for the taſk would undertake the work he announces. His book contains no ſeparate plate of the muſcles of the face, nor any one remark on their action. A kind of abſtract of the lectures of Profeſſor Camper upon this ſubject, has been lately tranſlated from the Dutch by Dr Cogan. The greater part of this work, however, is occupied with his peculiar theory as to the direction of the facial line; there is no intelligible view of the muſcles of the face; and his repreſentatious of the ſeveral paſſions are ſo coarſely and inaccurately drawn, that it is abſolutely impoſſible for the artiſt to derive the leaſt aſſiſtance from them.

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ing of the more abstract and disputable parts of the subject, it appeared to us that there was a want of simplicity and perspicuity in the statements. The author seems to have felt this himself in some places; and, to remedy it, he has fallen into a worse error—that of repetition, and detached recapitulation. Most of these faults, however, appear to arise from inexperience in writing on subjects of general speculation; and as they are not accompanied with the slightest appearance of conceit or presumption, they give but little offence to the reader, and will probably be easily corrected.

The Introductory Essay, after shortly explaining the extent of the subject which the author proposes to illustrate, treats at some length of the errors into which artists are apt to be betrayed, both by the study of the antique, and by that of the academy figure, and of the salutary corrective which anatomical knowledge has provided for these errors.

By anatomy, he observes, as applied to the arts of design, I understand, not merely the study of the human muscles and organs of motion,—

'I consider it as including a knowledge of all the peculiarities and characteristic differences which mark and distinguish the countenance, and the general appearance of the body, in situations interesting to the painter or statuary. The characters of infancy, youth, or age; the peculiarities of sickness or of robust health; the contrast of manly and muscular strength, with feminine delicacy; the appearances of diseases, of pain, or of death; the general condition of the body, in short, as marking to the eye of the beholder interesting situations:—All these form as necessary a part of the anatomy of painting, as the tracing of the muscles of expression in their unexerted state, and of the changes induced upon them as emotions arise in the mind.' p. 2.

With regard to the danger of an indiscriminate imitation of the antique, he observes, that almost all we know of it is preserved in *sculpture*, and that much of that sculpture is employed in embodying personifications of *deities*, and supernatural beings; from both which circumstances, it may become a source of error to the student of painting. He observes, with great truth, that the ancient sculptors appear to have considered a certain grave simplicity, and sedate tranquillity, as necessary to the grandeur and effect of their finer compositions; an air of stillness and repose, accordingly, is the grand characteristic of ancient sculpture; and, even in the expression of passion, they seem to have found it necessary, in order to preserve the beauty and dignity of their works, to avoid that minute and sharp representation of the features, and those convulsions and distortions of the muscles that are strictly natural. The painter, however, it is obvious, is bound down by no such limitations.

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'It is very true, that the painter may often be allowed to preserve much of the same gravity of style with the statuary; that such compositions will possess a certain augustness; and that some subjects even require this; while many admit of it, provided the tone and principle of composition be well preserved, and the painting characterized by a low and sombre colouring. In general, however, this is neither necessary, nor perhaps natural, to the style of composition in painting. A stronger expression, a closer imitation of natural character may be adopted; and at least it may be laid down, that, where there is bold light, and vivid colouring, there should be strong and natural character, bold and characteristic drawing. A painting, with high finishing, and bright colouring, demands minute expression, because the same circumstances which display the natural colouring, are necessarily accompanied by a minute disclosure of the parts, and a sharpness of natural expression in the features.' p. 6, 7.

From these considerations, it is apparent, that the imitation of the antique is apt to seduce the student into many fundamental errors, even if he should look for his models among the representations of human subjects. But the finest and most admired productions of antiquity, are the statues of its gods; and in these there is another source of deception.

'The ancient artist,' as Mr Bell observes, 'studied to bestow the character of divinity, by giving repose to the limbs without any indication of muscles or veins, and by exhibiting a face full of the mild serenity of a being superior to the passions of mankind, as shadowing out a state of existence in which the will possesses the most perfect freedom and activity without the exertion of the bodily frame. But those ideal forms are scarcely ever to be transferred to the representation of the human body; and a modern artist who indiscriminately follows such a model, misapplies the noblest lessons of his art.' p. 4.

In illustration of this remark, we might observe, that the famous Le Brun, in his pictures of the battles of Alexander, first represented that conqueror with the head of Minerva, which he found upon some of his coins; and afterwards, when the mistake was pointed out to him by some of his classical friends, corrected it, by substituting the head of the young Hercules, which appeared upon another series of medals.

To the study of the academy figure, Mr Bell has objections nearly as decisive. In the first place, he observes, it can give no assistance in the delineation of the countenance. In the second place, it cannot afford the means of seizing those momentary and characteristic exertions of muscular power which accompany sudden exertion, and must so often form the subject of the painter's imitation. In the third place, as the figure is screwed up into a particular position, and supported in it by ropes, his limbs never display the same action of muscles which takes place in the

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case of voluntary exertion;—the muscles, too, are intentionally protruded where the student is to copy; but the rest of the frame is still and lifeless. From copying such figures, Mr Bell observes, a young artist 'is apt to produce an appearance like spasm or cramp in the limbs, one part being in action, while the rest is loose and relaxed.' On other occasions, though the proportions are exact, 'the figures stand in attitudes when they were meant to be in action, and communicate to the spectator no idea of exertion or of motion.'

The true corrective for all these faults, is the study of anatomy; which, by teaching the painter the course and workings of the muscles, as well as the sympathy of their action in different parts of the body, enables him, without the help of a model, to represent, with truth and effect, all the exertions or emotions which he may wish to delineate. Even in copying from a model, this knowledge is of the utmost importance;—it gives the painter a spirit of minute observation, and forces him to attend to those slight but important indications which are apt to be overlooked by one who is ignorant of the causes from which they proceed. 'I have often,' says Mr Bell, 'had occasion to observe the perplexity of a young artist in representing the course of a swelling muscle;—the little depressions and convexities about a joint, or the knobbed end of a bone obscurely perceived through the superficial integuments. These appear to him but unmeaning varieties in the outline;—he makes swellings merely;—and in transcribing a language which he does not understand, is guilty of a thousand errors and inaccuracies.' The Essay concludes with several illustrations of the same general position.

The *second* Essay treats of the skull and form of the head; chiefly as indicating the different periods of life; and includes a long dissertation upon the peculiarities of the antique or ideal head as contrasted with that which is natural.

The peculiarities of the infantine, mature, and aged head, are represented and accounted for in the clearest and most satisfactory manner, and illustrated by a variety of beautiful sketches. Fiammingo, who was much celebrated for his models of children, is shown to be quite out of nature, in accumulating the mass of the head towards the top, instead of enlarging it in breadth backwards.

With regard to the peculiar form of the antique head, Mr Bell is of opinion, that it was adopted with a view to magnify and exaggerate all those features and proportions which are peculiar to the human countenance, and remove it furthest from any resemblance to the lower animals. There is a good deal of su-

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perfluous writing in this part of the work; though we are rather inclined to think that the author has made out his point. It is a fact, we believe, which admits of no dispute, that the antique is precisely the reverse of the brutal physiognomy. Assuming the ordinary or natural form of the human head as a centre, it will be found that, by altering its lines and proportions in one direction, it will approach to the character of a beast; and that, by altering them in the opposite direction, it will assume the character of the antique. After making a variety of acute and ingenious remarks upon the theories of Winkelman, Camper, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Bell concludes,

'I have endeavoured to place the subject in another view, and to show that the noble and imposing form of the antique resulted from a deep and more extensive survey of nature. I conceive the artists of antiquity to have studied the deformities, as well as the beauties, of the human countenance; and, observing the prevailing lines of a low and disagreeable countenance, to have traced this effect to an association with a lower species, and hence to have deduced their principle of ennobling the form of the head, by increasing those peculiarities of character, the indication of intellect, and the powers of expression, which distinguish the human form, and by carefully reversing those proportions which produce a resemblance to the physiognomy of brutes. While we seek to discover the superiority of the antique form in the direction of the lines, the elevation of the facial line, or even in the proportions of the several parts, without examining the cause of our ready acquiescence in that as beautiful, which yet is not natural, or without tracing the association which affects our judgment, the result of the inquiry must be vague and unsatisfactory, while the principle which influenced the ancients is not established.' - p. 44, 45.

Essay *third* is employed upon the muscles of the face in man, and in the lower animals. It contains very beautiful engravings of these muscles, with concise and clear explanations, and some excellent observations upon the capricious mixture of brutal and human expression, which some great painters have admitted into their representations of animals.

The *fourth* Essay is more interesting to the general reader. It treats of the expression of passion as illustrated by a comparison of the muscles of the face in man, and in the lower animals; and contains a great number of original remarks on the peculiarities of the brutal and the human physiognomy.

'The violent passions,' Mr Bell observes, 'mark themselves so distinctly on the countenance, both of man, and of animals, that we are apt, in the first instance, to consider the movements by which they are indicated, as certain signs or characters provided by nature for the express purpose of intimating the internal emotion; and to suppose that they are interpreted by the observer in consequence of a peculiar and instinctive

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instinctive faculty. This view of things, however, so natural at first sight, is not altogether satisfactory to philosophy; and a more jealous observation of the facts seems to suggest an opposite theory, in which instinctive agency is rejected, and the appearances are explained from a consideration of the necessities and voluntary exertions of the animal. With regard to the observer, it has been asserted, that it is by experience alone that he distinguishes the signs of the passions; that we learn, while infants, to consider smiles as expressions of kindness, because they are accompanied by acts of beneficence, and by endearments,—and frowns as the contrary, because we find them followed by blows; that the expression of anger in a brute is only that which has been observed to precede his biting, and that of fondness, his fawning and licking of the hand. With regard to the creature itself, it is said, what have been called the external signs of passion, are merely the concomitants of those voluntary movements, which the passion or habits suggest; that the glare of the lion's eye, for example, is the consequence of a voluntary exertion to see his prey more clearly—his grin or snarl, the natural motion of uncasing his fangs before he uses them,' &c. p. 84, 85.

In the course of the subsequent investigation, Mr Bell finds reason to conclude, that the whole expression in the countenances of brutes is derived from those actions of the muscles which are necessary to the performance of their animal functions; but that there are, in the human face, a variety of peculiar muscles, which serve no other purpose than to express intellectual or social emotions, and are to be considered, therefore, as the index or alphabet of human sentiment.

The chief expression in the lower animals is that of rage. The carnivorous animals express this, by uncovering the fang teeth with which they are about to seize their prey, and opening the eyelid strongly, by which the coats of the eye are stretched, and a certain brightness or glare excited in it. Those appearances, therefore, do not originally express any passion of the mind; they merely indicate an approaching action; they are parallel to the unsheathing of a sword, or the cocking of a pistol. The graminivorous animals do not seize their food with the side teeth; they crop it with the front ones. They are unprovided, therefore, with the muscles which uncase the fangs of the lion or tyger; and as the act of biting the grass indicates nothing like rage or ferocity, we have associated no expression of this kind with the movement by which they uncover the fore teeth. Their only indication of rage is in the position of their organs of attack—in the inclined head, and oblique horns of the bull, or the eye and the ear of the horse reverted towards the heels with which he is preparing to strike.

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Man has both these sets of muscles; and he has a variety of others that are peculiar to himself, and seem to answer no purpose but as organs of human expression. These are chiefly the *corrugator supercilii*, or that which knits the eye-brows, and the *triangularis oris*, which, in combination with some other muscles about the mouth, produces that arching of the lip which is so expressive of contempt, hatred, jealousy, and all the unsocial passions.

'The expression of human rage,' says Mr Bell, 'partakes of that of the two classes of animals; the corresponding muscles of the lips and nostril, producing a similar action with that of animals; an exposure and gnashing of the teeth; a degree of sparkling of the eye, and an inflation of the nostril. And of a face under the influence of such action, a spectator would infallibly say, that the aspect is perfectly brutal, savage, and cruel. But when the Corrugator Supercilii, a muscle peculiar to human expression, is brought into action, the sign is altered. The eyebrows are knit, the energy of mind is apparent, and the mingling of human thought and emotion with the savage and brutal rage of the mere animal.' p. 97.

Laughter he thinks peculiar to man, as well as the expressions of hope, admiration, despair, and many other emotions. In the conclusion of the Essay, he observes, that though the form of the animal head be often very beautiful in itself, it never fails to produce a disgusting effect, when engrafted in any degree on the human countenance. Whenever the imagination catches an idea of brutal character, the whole dignity and beauty of the head is instantaneously destroyed. The chief ingredient in human beauty, he thinks, is the visible capacity for expression: of which he says,

'This capacity of expression, this indication of a mind susceptible of great, or of tender emotions, has a great share in human beauty; whether in the living countenance, or in that which the pencil presents. How different the tame regularity of a merely placid countenance, from what strikes the spectator when he beholds the indications of a great mind in that susceptibility of emotion and energy, which marks the brow and animates the eye of the hero even in the calmest scenes of life! How fascinating when compared with the insipid prettiness and regular features of an inanimate beauty is that susceptibility which lightens up the countenance and plays upon the features of a woman of sensibility, even while she is unmoved by any particular affection! The full, clear eye; the arched and moveable eyebrow; the smooth and polished forehead,—as indicating this kind of capacity, this susceptibility of emotion, and power of expression, are grand features of human character and beauty. And the perfection of their beauty is found whenever the spectator is made sensible of this inherent, this latent power of expression, while no prevailing passion gives a cast to the features.' p. 102.

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The *next* Essay is the most important and interesting of the whole book. It treats, in detail, of the visible signs of grief, pain, weeping, anguish, death, discontent, suspicion, rage, remorse, jealousy, wonder, fear, horror, and despair. Most of these are illustrated by striking and original sketches, and accompanied by precise and lively descriptions, affording the most convincing proofs of the author's nice and assiduous observation.

The Essay is prefaced by a general speculation, which we do not consider as of great value, tending to show, that in all the pleasurable emotions there is a degree of languor and relaxation, and that pain and suffering are accompanied by tension and excitement. The following paragraph is all we can afford to insert of it.

'On the other hand, as pleasure is characterized by languor, soft tranquillity, and relaxation from bodily exertion, all the emotions related to it, or deducible from pleasurable sensations, are characterized by the prevailing state of the system, by a degree of inaction, and, as it were, forgetfulness of bodily exertion, and an indulgence in mental contemplation. The contemplation of beauty, or the admiration of soft music, produces a sense of languor; the body reclines, the lips are half opened, the eyes have a softened lustre from the falling of the eyelids; the breathing is slow, and, from the absolute neglect of bodily sensation, and the temporary interruption of respiration, there is a frequent low drawn sigh.' p. 109.

In his descriptions of the different emotions which the painter may have to represent, Mr Bell, as we formerly observed, shows himself not only to have attended to the visible signs of the passion with the keen eye of an artist, but also to have traced its inward workings with the sagacity and zeal of a philosopher.

'In sorrow,' he says, 'that general languor which we have now described pervades the whole countenance. The violence and tension of grief, the agitations, the restlessness, the lamentations, and the tumult, have, like all strong excitements, gradually exhausted the frame. Sadness and regret, with depression of spirits and fond recollections, have succeeded; and lassitude of the whole body, with dejection of face and heaviness of the eyes, are the most striking characteristics. The lips are relaxed and the lower jaw drops; the upper eyelid falls down and half covers the pupil of the eye. The eye is frequently filled with tears, and the eyebrows take an inclination similar to that which the depression of the angles of the lips give to the mouth.' p. 114.

After a very fine sketch and description of despair, rage, and bodily pain, in the case of a mortal wound, he observes—

'If a man be shot, there will be no such ferocious expression. There is here often a strange and inexplicable nervous effect, a trembling and sinking of the body, with faintness and oppression; the face and body cold, pale, and livid. In a mortal gunshot wound, the character of the

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the hero is loſt; it yields to the univerſal law: yet the feebleneſs of the palpitating breaſt, and the bewildered eye in the death of a great man, ſtrike us, in certain circumſtances, more forcibly perhaps than if we ſaw him in all his glory.' p. 120.

The following remarks on the repreſentation of death, are ſtrong and impreſſive.

'When the eyelids, lips, and noſe are livid, death is faſt approaching: but often, before the laſt ſcene, the waſted form will riſe with an anxious, delirious look, before finally falling into the embrace of death. In death, the eyes are dull and ſunk; the features ſharp; the noſe pointed; the noſtril ſomewhat contracted; the ſurface cold and pale, and leaden coloured. The painter muſt hold in recollection the difference between a dead body which he may have ſeen on the table of the anatomiſt, and the dead in battle. It may be ſometimes neceſſary to give the rigidity of death to the figure, but more frequently either the convulſive tenſion of expiring life, or the relaxation of death; as Homer deſcribes his heroes, rolling in death, with limbs relaxed and nerveleſs. It appears to me that the painter is too apt to take his ideas of death from the ſtage. But it is ſcarcely poſſible that from ſuch a ſource he can derive the materials of a natural, ſimple, or terrific repreſentation.

'We not unfrequently ſee a young creature in death, as if aſleep, with the beauty of countenance unobſcured by convulſion: the form alone remains; the animation is gone, and no colour beautifies the cheek.

" E, quaſi un ciel notturno, anco ſereno
Senza ſplendor la faccia ſcolorita. "

There is often, however, a gloom upon the countenance: the eyebrow hangs low; the eye is ſunk and the orbit diſtinct; the noſe is compreſſed, and the lines of it ſharp. The compreſſion of the noſe is occaſioned by the falling in of the noſtril; the lower jaw falls, and the cheek is hollow. When the dead are dreſſed by the undertaker for burial, and the jaw bound up, there is ſtill ſomething very peculiar in the appearance of the mouth. There is no breath betwixt the lips and teeth; and the relaxed lips being forced together, there is an unnatural fulneſs round the mouth, while the lips themſelves fall in.' p. 123, 124.

The account of laughter and of weeping is excellent. After a ſpirited ſketch of rage, we have this deſcription.

'In rage, the features are unſteady, the eyeballs are ſeen largely; they roll and are inflated. The front is alternately knit and raiſed in furrows by the motion of the eyebrows; the noſtrils are inflated to the utmoſt; the lips are ſwelled, and, being drawn, open the corners of the mouth.

'The action of the muſcles is ſtrongly marked. The whole viſage is ſometimes pale, ſometimes inflated, dark, and almoſt livid; the words are delivered ſtrongly through the fixed teeth; " the hair is fixed on end

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end like one distracted, and every joint should seem to curse and ban." p. 139, 140.

The author seems to have paid particular attention to the symptoms and visible characters of Fear. We have room only for its simplest modification.

'In man, the expression of mere bodily fear is, like that of animals, without dignity; it is the mean anticipation of pain. The eyeball is largely uncovered; the eyes staring; the eyebrows elevated to the utmost stretch. There is a spasmodic affection of the diaphragm and muscles of the chest, affecting the breathing, producing a gasping in the throat, with an inflation of the nostril, convulsive opening of the mouth, and dropping of the jaw; the lips nearly concealing the teeth, yet allowing the tongue to be seen, the space between the nostril and lip being full. There is a hollowness and convulsive trembling in the cheek, and lips, and muscles, on the side of the neck. The whole animal functions are affected, and that nerve which is called the Sympathetic seems the master spring. The lungs are kept distended, while the breathing is short and rapid; and, from the connexion of the nerves of the lungs and midriff with those of the side of the neck, and with the branches which supply the cutaneous muscle of the cheek and neck, we may comprehend the cause of the convulsive motion of this muscle. The aspect is pale and cadaverous from the receding of the blood. The hair is lifted up by the creeping of the skin.' p. 145.

The last passion, of which we shall extract the description, is Despair.

'Despair is a mingled emotion. While terror is in some measure the balancing and distraction of a mind occupied with a possibility of danger, despair is the total wreck of hope, the terrible assurance of ruin having closed around beyond all power of escape. The expression of despair must vary with the nature of the distress of which it forms the acmé. In certain circumstances, it will assume a bewildered distracted air, as if madness were likely to afford the only relief from mental agony. Sometimes there is at once a wildness in the looks, and total relaxation, as if falling into insensibility; or there is upon the countenance of the desperate man a horrid gloom; the eye is fixed, yet he neither sees nor hears aught, nor is sensible of what surrounds him; the features are shrunk, and pale, and livid; and convulsion and tremors affect the muscles of the face. But, in all pictures of despair, an inconsolable and total abandonment of those exertions to which hope inspirits and excites a man, forms an essential feature.' p. 149.

The Essay closes with some very judicious and original remarks on the external character of madness. Painters seem in general to have borrowed their ideas of insanity from the stage, where it commonly appears merely as an excess of emotion. Mr Bell observes—

'The theory upon which we are to proceed in attempting to convey this peculiar expression of ferocity amidst the utter wreck of the intellect,

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tellect, I conceive to be this, that the expreſſion of mental energy ſhould be avoided, and conſequently all exertion of thoſe muſcles which are peculiarly indicative of ſentiment. This I conceive indeed to be true to nature, but I am more certain that it is correct in the theory of painting. I conceive it to be conſiſtent with nature, becauſe I have obſerved (contrary to my expectation) that there was not that energy, that knitting of the brows, that indignant brooding and thoughtfulneſs in the face of madmen which is generally imagined to characterize their expreſſion, and which we almoſt uniformly find given to them in painting. There is a vacancy in their laugh, and a want of meaning in their ferociouſneſs.' p. 155.

The concluding Eſſay is of a miſcellaneous nature. It is entitled, 'Of the economy of the living body, as it relates to expreſſion in painting;' and it contains a variety of hints and obſervations deſerving of particular attention.

After a very luminous deſcription of the vaſcular ſyſtem in general, he obſerves—

'Of the veins, the painter ſhould remark, that in young people they do not appear prominent or turgid, being reſtrained by the elaſticity of the ſkin: neither are they prominent in women, but appear merely as faint blue lines in the tranſparent ſkin. I know not whether the veins of women ought on any occaſion to be delineated; but, in natural colouring, their effect is a faint tinge of blue, which gives a delicacy to the white, and mingles with the prevailing carnation.' p. 163.

The effects of exercise, poſition, and old age, or the character of the veins, is then very fully explained. He afterwards proceeds to the ſkin.

'The ſkin itſelf deſerves the attention of the artiſt, for it conſiderably affects the character of the parts which it covers; the veins, the bones, and the muſcles. In a robuſt healthy child, no veins are to be ſeen; and, for the ſame reaſon, the points of bone, and the diſtinction of muſcle and tendon, are not perceived. In a child, though the ſurface is ſmooth and delicate, yet (as anatomiſts would ſpeak) the integuments are thick and ſtrong; the fat lies chiefly on the ſurface, and above thoſe parts which in more mature age appear prominent, and mark the character. The conſequence of this is apparent in the general form of children. They have their appropriate form and beauty; but, in reference to the more perfect ſtate of middle life, they are unformed; the head, joints, and limbs, and even the hands and feet, being round and unſhapely. Such is the appearance of children at the age at which they are commonly drawn and modelled: when it ſeems juſt doubtful whether they might not be more ſecure on a broader baſe than their feet. Women, like children, have the ſkin ſmooth, but the limbs round, poliſhed, and pyramidal. This proceeds from the muſcles being leſs powerful, and the bones leſs prominent than in man, and from the fat being in great proportion, and filling up all inequalities. Time makes its aſſault on this fair proportion, firſt by overloading and taking the ſymmetry.

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symmetry from the limbs, and, finally, by diminishing the fat, so that the skin closes nearer to the bones.' p. 166, 167.

These observations are followed by some curious remarks on the action and properties of the muscles, and the general expression of weight or agility in the person.

'The ideal form of Hercules, is the personification of the highest degree of power, with every possible or consistent mark of activity. The form of Hercules is not directly taken from natural appearance, but as if by inference and upon theory. The head and limbs are small; the neck, trunk, and shoulders, preternaturally large and strong; the muscles moving the limbs are powerful; the parts moved light. But the idea of power is not more impressed upon us by the general form, than by the appearance of the individual muscles. They have a sharpness and prominence which could be acquired only by exercise and continual exertion.' p. 175, 176.

'The approach of old age gives another distinction of muscular exertion. In the Laocoon, for example, we have a muscular figure, and much anatomical expression; but it is the powerful exertion of a man advanced in life, whose functions as a priest give no presumption of the acquisition of great bodily power. It bears no relation to either of the characteristic forms of human strength.' p. 176.

The author afterwards discourses at some length on grace of attitude and posture; and concludes with some remarks on the natural posture of sleep.

'In sleep,' he observes, 'there is, perhaps, an appropriate attitude; but every limb is at rest; and such an attitude as indicates entire repose and relaxation is the natural characteristic of sleep. When a fine lady throws herself upon the sofa in elegant relaxation, she can preserve, while awake, the grace of her attitude; but when sleep actually visits her, the wrist falls loose, the arms gravitate into an easy half-bended position, the legs are drawn up, and nature overcomes affectation. The cause is this: when the limbs are stretched, the extending muscles are in contraction, and the bending muscles drawn out; it is not therefore a position of ease and perfect relaxation. If intention, or habit, does not prevent the natural equipoise of muscular contraction, the joints will in sleep be relaxed, and the limbs nearly half bent.' p. 183, 184.

The work closes with pointing out the distinctions between the position of sleep and of death.

We cannot take our leave of this interesting volume, without saying a word or two on the sketches by which it is illustrated. Their conception and execution, we think, do great credit to the talents and taste of the author,—they are, for the most part, extremely striking and expressive, without any thing of commonplace or caricature. They are evidently original drawings, and not mere parodies of Le Brun's personifications of the passions. At the same time, we are disposed to make this objection to them,

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them, as illuſtrations of a didactic treatiſe, that they do not exhibit the muſcular affections of the countenance in an abſtract and naked form, but in combination with a number of concomitant circumſtances that contribute, we cannot tell how much, to the general effect of the drawing. When the queſtion is as to the effect of particular muſcles in expreſſing certain emotions, it appears to us, that the action of thoſe muſcles ſhould be repreſented as much as poſſible in a ſimple and ſeparate ſtate, and that no aid ſhould be borrowed from the introduction of circumſtances or objects which are of themſelves ſufficient to indicate the emotion in queſtion. Upon this principle we object to the chain and fetters of the madman, the ſword in the wound of the man dying in agony, the dagger in the uplifted hand of rage, and the erect hair and projected hands of terror and amazement. Theſe circumſtances are ſo clearly aſſociated with the ſeveral paſſions or ſituations to be repreſented, that they are almoſt ſufficient to ſuggeſt the idea of it alone, and render it, at any rate, impoſſible to ſay how far we might have been able to interpret the muſcular expreſſion, if it had been preſented to us without this commentary. Mr Bell will do more juſtice to his pupils, and ſubject his obſervations to a more decifive teſt, if he will abſtain in future from ſuch prepoſſeſſing embelliſhments.

ART. XI. *Voyage à la Partie Orientale de la Terre-Ferme, dans l'Amerique Meridionale, fait pendant les Années* 1801, 1802, 1803, *et* 1804. Par F. Depons, Ex-agent du Gouvernement Français à Caracas. En 3 tomes. 8vo. à Paris. 1806.

THAT part of South America which lies between the mouths of the Orinoco and Cape de la Vela, is little known in Europe, except to the Spaniards. Though the firſt part of the continent diſcovered by Columbus; though the ſpot ſelected by Las Caſas for the trial of his ſcheme to civilize the Indians; though the region of the once celebrated but now forgotten *El Dorado;* and though a country eminently fruitful, and infinitely more ſalubrious than any of the neighbouring diſtricts, and recently become the ſeat of an extenſive and increaſing commerce, we ſhould ſearch in vain for any adequate hiſtory or account of it in our books of geography or ſtatiſtics. Deſtitute of the precious metals, it was abandoned to neglect by the Court of Spain, after having been made a theatre of the moſt horrid and ſanguinary devaſtations by its agents; and, for more than a century and a half, its interior was explored by none but miſſionaries, and its

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its coasts frequented only by smugglers. During the last century, when it attracted again the attention of the mother-country, it seems to have been visited by no Spaniard whose curiosity led him to inquire into its natural resources and productions, and certainly by none who has been permitted to communicate the result of his inquiries to the public. It is, therefore, with great satisfaction that we congratulate our readers on the appearance of the volumes before us, in which they will find very ample details on these subjects, accompanied by much curious information on the internal state and government of the Spanish colonies in America. Such a work has an additional value to an Englishman, since the acquisition of Trinidad has opened to us a communication with this fertile and delightful country; and, at the present moment, it possesses an accidental and temporary interest in consequence of the expedition of Miranda, who has chosen this part of the American continent for the scene of his adventurous enterprize.

M. Depons, the author of these volumes, appears to have been a planter in the French part of St Domingo, driven from that island by the revolt of the negroes, and forced to seek for refuge in the Spanish colonies, in which he had resided for eight years before his arrival in the captain-generalship of Caracas in 1801. Having soon after that period formed the plan of the work before us, he communicated his purpose to General Leclerc, when that officer arrived at St Domingo to subdue the island, and reduce it again under its former masters. Leclerc, he informs us, was pleased to patronize his undertaking, and to advance him a thousand dollars out of the public funds of the army to assist him in carrying it into effect. He continued to reside in the Caracas till May 1804; and the work which he has now published will show, that his time there was not unprofitably employed, and that the favour and protection of his government were not thrown away upon him.

M. Depons divides his work into eleven chapters, in which he treats of—the discovery and conquest of the country,—its mountains, rivers, lakes, harbours, and natural productions,—its population, the manners and customs of its inhabitants,—its Indian population,—the character and present state of the Indians,—its civil and military government,—its religious establishment,—its agriculture, commerce, and finances,—its principal towns;—and, lastly, he gives an account of Spanish Guiana, and of the course and navigation of the Orinoco. We shall follow him in the order in which he has considered these subjects, extracting whatever appears to us most new or valuable in his observations.

Discovery

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Diſcovery and conqueſt of the eaſtern part of Terra-Firma. None of the conqueſts made by the diſcoverers of the new world was diſputed with greater obſtinacy than that of Caracas. The Indians who inhabited the country at the arrival of the Spaniards were fierce and ſavage, and the cruelties of their invaders drove them to deſpair. They were not united, as in Mexico and Peru, under a ſingle head, but divided into ſmall tribes, who fought ſeparately for their independence. The nature of their country was favourable for defence, being mountainous and difficult of acceſs, and interſected with innumerable rivers, which, for a great part of the year, overflow their banks. The progreſs of the invaders was therefore ſlow, and their ſteps were marked with devaſtation and blood. But the natives were at length exterminated or reduced to ſubjection. The priſoners taken in war were hurried to the ſhore and ſold to ſlave merchants, who hovered over the coaſt like birds of prey, in expectation of theſe victims, to replace the ſufferers from bigotry and avarice at St Domingo. In no part of the Spaniſh ſettlements have the miſſionaries contributed ſo little to the reduction of the country as in Caracas.

Deſcription of the country. The captain-generalſhip of Caracas conſiſts of the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaïbo, Varinas, Guiana, Cumana, and the iſle of Margarita. It extends along the coaſt from long. 75° to long. 61° W. from Paris, and from north to ſouth it reaches from lat. 12° N. to the equator. It is bounded by the ſea, by Dutch, French, and Portugueze Guiana, and by the viceroyalty of New Granada. It may be neceſſary to remind our readers, that the Spaniſh ſettlements in America are divided into four viceroyalties, Mexico, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada; and into five captain-generalſhips, Porto Rico, Cuba, Guatemala, Caracas, and Chili. The captain-general is an officer of inferior dignity to the viceroy, but is quite independent of his authority.

The temperature of this country is moderated by a chain of mountains which traverſes it from weſt to eaſt, extending from the lake of Maracaïbo to the iſle of Trinidad. The higheſt point of this ridge is near the city of Caracas, having 1278 toiſes of height; but, in general, it is much leſs elevated. To the ſouth of theſe mountains there is an extenſive plain, extremely hot, watered by the Orinoco and its tributary ſtreams. The mountains of Caracas are covered with wood fit for ſhipbuilding and for every other purpoſe; and they contain ſome gold mines, though of little value, which were at one time worked, but have been long ſince abandoned. There is a copper mine in the province of Venezuela, from which a ſmall quantity of excellent copper

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copper is annually extracted. It is used by the planters in their sugar-works in preference to iron, on account of its cheapness, being sold at 15 dollars per cwt. A small quantity is also exported at Porto Cabello.

The pearl fishery near the Isle of Margarita, which first attracted the Spaniards to this coast, has been long since abandoned; and it is said that pearls are no longer to be found there.

Bay salt is gathered in great abundance, and of excellent quality, in many places along the coast of Venezuela. Near Araya there is a mine of rock-salt, which might be worked to great advantage, were it not for the royal monopoly, which prevents any one from trading in salt except the King.

The seasons are divided into wet and dry in Caracas, as in other tropical countries. The rainy season begins in May, and ends in December. While it lasts, there is rain for three hours a day, at an average, throughout the country. The rain falls in torrents, fills the ravines, and makes the rivers overflow their banks. Earthquakes are much less common in Caracas than in Peru. When there are long intervals between the thunder-storms, it is observed that earthquakes are more frequent.

The lake of Maracaïbo is 150 leagues in circumference, and communicates with the sea. Its water is fresh, but at times brackish. It abounds in fish; and is navigable for ships of considerable burden. At its north-east corner there is a very copious spring of mineral pitch; and from this a constant exhalation of inflammable vapours, which are phosphorescent during the night, and serve as a beacon to the Indians and Spaniards who navigate the lake. The place is called, on this account, the 'Beacon of Maracaïbo.' The banks of the lake are sterile and unwholesome, so that the Indians prefer living in villages, built on shallows in the midst of the water. When the Spaniards first arrived on this coast, the number of these villages was so great, that they gave to the province the name of *Venezuela*, or Little Venice. Four of them are still preserved, and their inhabitants earn their subsistence by catching fish in the lake, and by hunting for wild ducks, in the manner described by Ulloa. They take care that a number of empty calabashes are continually floating on the lake, that the ducks may be accustomed to them, and without fear at seeing them approach. The hunter then goes into the lake, with a calabash over his head, having holes in it for seeing and breathing. Nothing is seen above the water except the calabash, which appears to be floating on the lake. Thus accoutred, he moves with the greatest stillness towards the ducks, and catching one by the leg, he pulls it suddenly under the water,

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before it has time to alarm the reſt; and, in this way, he goes on till he has caught as many as he wants.

The rivers which take their riſe on the north ſide of the mountains, are ſhort and rapid in their courſe, and run directly into the ſea. They might be uſefully employed for irrigation; and they are well adapted for conveying lumber to the coaſt. Some of them are navigable to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea. The rivers which riſe on the ſouth ſide of the mountains flow through a flat country, which they inundate in the rainy ſeaſon, and are at laſt received into the Orinoco.

Porto Cabello is the beſt harbour upon this coaſt, or in all America. It is large, ſafe, and commodious; ſheltered from every wind; calm, however much the ſea is agitated; deep; and has good anchoring-ground. Guayra, the harbour of Caracas, is the moſt frequented port on this coaſt, though it is only a miſerable roadſtead. In the Gulf of Paria there is good anchorage, from 8 to 30 fathoms deep; and, on the coaſt of Paria, there are ſeveral harbours and roadſteads, by which there is a ready communication with Trinidad. There are many other harbours on the coaſt of Caracas, but none of any great note.

Population, Manners, and Cuſtoms. M. Depons eſtimates the whole population of Caracas at 728,000 ſouls, of which he aſſigns 500,000 to the provinces of Venezuela and Varinas, 100,000 to Maracaïbo, 80,000 to Cumana, 34,000 to Spaniſh Guiana, and 14,000 to the Iſle of Margarita. The whites form one fifth of this population, the ſlaves three tenths, the free people of colour two fifths, and the Indians one tenth.

There are few Europeans in Caracas, except thoſe ſent out in the ſervice of the ſtate; including whom, not a hundred Spaniards ſettle annually in the province. But of thoſe who go to America, very few return to their native country, except the Biſcayners and Catalans. The Spaniards are not permitted to viſit their American ſettlements, without a licenſe from the king, which cannot be obtained, unleſs the object of their journey is known and approved of by the Council of the Indies; and the licenſe granted to them is in general limited to two years reſidence, leave to ſettle not being obtained without the greateſt difficulty. Even the Creoles, who have gone to Spain for their education, cannot return to their native country without a licenſe. So ſtrict was the government formerly on this ſubject, that a paſſport to one province did not authorize the bearer of it to go to another. Theſe ſevere, but ill executed laws, were dictated in part by political fears and jealouſies: but their principal ſource was in that ſpirit of monaſtic regulation,—in thoſe maxims of religious bigotry and auſterity, which have been ſo long cultivated with ſuch

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such mischievous effects in Spain. Instead of considering its colonies as a place of refuge for the idle, the profligate, and the disaffected, where they might learn to amend their lives, and, if possible, forget their errors, the Spanish Court has watched over its foreign settlements with the solicitude of a duenna, and regulated their government as if they were to be inhabited by Carthusians. No Spaniard could get permission to go to America, without a certificate of his moral and religious character, and an attestation that none of his forefathers, for three generations back, had suffered in an *auto da fé*, or carried the infamous *san-benito*. Foreigners of all descriptions, were kept out of these countries with the greatest care; and if tolerated by the connivance of the viceroys, they were subjected to every inconvenience and oppression. But of late years, so much have these ancient maxims of Spanish policy fallen into disregard, that, by a royal cedula of 1801, foreigners are permitted to settle in the Spanish colonies, for the payment of 8200 reals (about 86*l.*) to the crown; and, for the same sum, they may be admitted to all the privileges of natural born Spaniards, provided they are of the Catholic persuasion, and not otherwise disqualified by law.

The Creoles are of quick apprehension, and capable of greater application to business or study than their West Indian neighbours; but their education is miserably conducted. They are taught, in their infancy, the miracles and legends of their saints; and made to observe, with the most scrupulous attention, all the minute practices, and observances of their religion. They are then instructed in Latin; and their education is supposed to be finished, when they have acquired a little scholastic learning, and attended the lectures of some professor in theology or law. Their ignorance of all sorts of useful knowledge is extreme, and can only be equalled by their contempt for all useful occupations. The care and improvement of their estates, they esteem an object beneath their notice, and hold all professions in disdain, except the law, the army, and the church. Family pride, of the lowest and most illiberal cast, is one of their ruling passions; and this has been fostered by a preposterous regulation, which, till lately, obtained in all the dominions of Spain, empowering children, as soon as they attained the age of puberty, to compel their parents to consent to their marriage with whom they pleased, provided it was not with a person of inferior birth. This law was abolished in 1803; and the authority of parents over their children, in the article of marriage, extended to twenty-five years of age for males, and to twenty-three for females; but, while it lasted, the objections to which it gave rise, on the ground of *misalliance*, were a continual source of heartburnings and dissensions

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sensions in the Spanish colonies. Litigiousness is another fault of the Spanish Creoles. M. Depons calculates that lawsuits cost in Caracas 1,200,000 dollars annually; and, in Cuba, in 1792, a population of 254,000 souls found employment for 106 advocates, with a proportional number of attorneys and notaries, while the French part of St Domingo, with a population of 660,000 souls, maintained only 36.

With these shades in their character, the Creoles of Caracas are mild and humane, moderate in their desires, and cautious, even to timidity, in their conduct, and in the management of their affairs. This turn of mind was strongly exemplified some years ago, in the attempt which was then made to excite them to take up arms against the mother country, and to throw off her yoke. This conspiracy had its origin with three state prisoners, who had been sent from Spain to Caracas on account of their revolutionary delinquencies at home. These persons, who were condemned to perpetual banishment and imprisonment, being treated with great indulgence at Caracas, and permitted to have free intercourse with the natives, formed the project of a conspiracy against the government; but, though they engaged several persons of consequence in their party, such was the coldness and apathy of the Creoles, that, after their first converts, they made no progress in gaining proselytes. After the plot had been kept a profound secret for many months, it was disclosed to the government. Some of the ringleaders escaped; others were taken; but no resistance was attempted. It was found that 72 persons had entered into the conspiracy, six of whom were taken and executed; the rest either escaped, or were sent to the galleys, or banished from the colony. M. Depons reprobates this conspiracy with the horror natural to a refugee from St Domingo, and with the philosophy now in credit at St Cloud.

The Spanish Creoles marry in general as soon as they attain the age of puberty. An unmarried man of twenty begins to be looked upon as an old bachelor. It is not unusual to see a married couple, whose united ages do not make thirty. These early marriages are neither productive of happiness, nor conducive to morals. Fidelity to the marriage bed is equally disregarded by both parties. But, if any difference arises, the advantage is on the side of the wife; for she can have her husband reprimanded or imprisoned whenever she chooses to complain of his conduct; and if he should recriminate, she is sure that her story will be listened to in preference to his.

But, in this picture of the character and manners of the Creoles, some allowance must be made for the prejudices of a stranger, and for the dislike of a Frenchman to every thing Spanish. The Spaniards

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Spaniards of the New World must be very different from those of the Old, if M. Depons accuses them justly of being cold-hearted, malicious, and dissembling. Because there is much ceremonial in Spanish manners, it does not follow that there is a want of friendship and cordiality in their character. Because there is no petulant gaiety in their parties, it does not follow that they have no conversation, or that they are incapable of deriving any advantage from social intercourse. *Pique-nique* suppers, we have no doubt, are very pleasant at Paris; but we cannot so readily admit that they are essential to human felicity. M. Depons indeed perceives symptoms of amendment, where we see no great cause for exultation. He congratulates the young Spaniards on having laid aside the sword of their ancestors, and taken to round hats, cropped heads, high pantaloons, and short waistcoats. If they would but give up their *siesta*, or afternoon nap, he seems not unwilling to hope that they might yet attain to some degree of civilization.

Religious scruples have prevented the Spaniards from engaging in the African slave trade; but, with a casuistry not unprecedented on that subject, they have reconciled their conscience to the lawfulness of purchasing slaves, when brought to them by other nations; and they have even made treaties, and held out pecuniary inducements, to embark their neighbours in that iniquitous traffic. The slaves of the Spaniards, however, are taught their prayers with the greatest care; and the utmost solicitude is shown to prevent slaves of different sexes from having an illicit commerce together. The young girls are locked up during the night, and watched during the day, from the age of ten till they are married. But these precautions are fruitless; whether it be that they are ill chosen, or that the unrestrained intercourse of the whites with the female slaves defeats their operation. M. Depons complains that the Spaniards neglect to clothe and feed their slaves properly, and that they have no physician to attend them in their illness. He contrasts, with no small complacency, their conduct in these particulars with that of the French colonists of St Domingo. But, from his own statement, it appears that the Spaniards give their slaves land to cultivate for provisions, and allow them leisure for its cultivation; and that, in their dress, houses, and accommodations, the slaves of Caracas are not on a worse footing, when compared with the slaves of St Domingo, than their masters are, when compared with the former planters of that island.

The slaves of the Spaniards possess some advantages which the slaves of no other nation enjoy. If they are ill used by their master, they can compel him to sell them to another person; and

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if a slave can amass a sum equal to his purchase-money, he has a right to buy back his freedom. In 1789, the royal authority was interposed, to ameliorate, in some other particulars, the condition of the slaves; but its plans of reform were so absurd and impracticable, that no effect whatever resulted from its interference. In a colony where many of the masters sleep upon skins, and have but one apartment for their whole family, it was seriously ordered, that every slave should have his separate sleeping-room, furnished with a bedstead, mattress, coverlet and curtains. Police officers were appointed to determine the quota of labour that should be exacted from every slave. The male and female slaves were to be kept in separate gangs, and not allowed to have any communication, even on days of festivity;—such regulations as, M. Depons justly remarks, were better calculated to form a society of monks, than to supply the wants, or accelerate the growth, of a rising colony.

The free blacks and people of colour are more numerous in the Spanish settlements, than in the colonies of any other nation. The laws of Spain, contrary to the usual system of colonial policy followed by the Europeans, are extremely favourable to the manumission of slaves; and the piety and devotion of the Spanish character, contribute powerfully, as in the dark ages, to increase the number of freedmen. The people of colour in the Spanish colonies are in general poor, and not more industrious than the Creoles. They are not admissible to any public office in the state, nor into the army of the line; but they may serve in the militia, and even rise to the rank of captain. They are liable to a capitation tax, which, in Caracas at least, is not exacted; and they are forbidden to have Indian servants. They may be physicians; but they cannot be priests. There are various sumptuary laws regulating the dress of their women; but they are fallen into neglect; and the only regulation now in force is one, which prohibits them from having a cushion to kneel upon in church. Trifling as this distinction is, it is sometimes abrogated for money, in favour of a particular family, by a royal order, raising the members of it to the rank and privileges of whites. The marriages of people of colour with white families of distinction, have been always extremely rare in the Spanish colonies; but, with the lower ranks of whites, they were not unfrequent, till 1785, when the difference of colour was declared to be a sufficient reason for refusing consent to a marriage, on the ground of disparity of condition in the parties. Since that time such marriages have ceased, except in the case of white women, who having been exposed, when infants, by their mothers, to conceal their frailty, had been saved by negresses

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gresses or people of colour, and who found themselves reduced, when they grew up, to marry in the class where they had been educated. M. Depons calls loudly for a foundling hospital at Caracas to remedy this evil.

Indian Population. The Indians subject to the Spanish government are as remarkable for the indolence and weakness of their character, as for the mildness of their disposition. The Spanish law considers them as in a state of perpetual pupillage, and assigns to them guardians and protectors. Their civil contracts are not binding, unless made in the presence and with the approbation of the Spanish magistrates; and their lands cannot be sold, unless under the sanction of legal authority. They live in villages, without any mixture of Spaniards or people of colour, under a *cabildo* or magistracy of their own nation, whose authority is controuled by a Spanish corregidor or protector, to whom an appeal lies against the *cabilde* from its subjects, and who is bound to interfere when he sees an occasion, and protect them against its injustice and oppression. The king's *fiscal* or attorney-general is their protector and legal defender, in all causes, whether civil or criminal, brought against them in the courts of law. They have no labour imposed upon them as a task; and the only direct tax to which they are subjected, is the capitation tax, amounting to about two dollars a head. The religious discipline under which they are placed, is extremely slight. They are exempt from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition; and, in pity to the weakness of their faith, and the dulness of their understanding, they are excused for transgressions and omissions of their religious duty, which would be severely punished in other Christians.

M. Depons blames this excessive lenity and indulgence to the Indians, and alleges that it serves only to encourage their natural propensity to indolence, and to all the vices attending upon it. He proposes that they should be compelled to work, but that the fruits of their labour should be secured to themselves. It is easy to foresee, that if the scheme of M. Depons were adopted, the Indians would probably be condemned to labour; but the gainers by it would be their superintendants and overseers.

There are several tribes of independent Indians in the territory of Caracas; but, with the exception of the Guajiros, they are neither numerous nor formidable. The Guajiros are a fierce and warlike tribe, who are in general in a state of hostility with the Spaniards. They possess a tract of about thirty leagues along the coast to the westward of Maracaïbo; and can bring into the field 14,000 men, well mounted on horseback, and armed with carabines, and bows and arrows. They are supplied with arms, ammunition, and clothes, by the English of Jamaica, with whom

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they carry on a commercial intercourse; which excites the indignation of M. Depons. The remaining tribes of independent Indians are of a mild and peaceable character, and owe their freedom, not to their valour, but to the inaccessible and unwholesome regions which they inhabit.

Civil and Military Government. In entering upon this subject, M. Depons is struck with the difference of the policy followed by France and Spain with regard to their colonies. The French planter had his eyes continually directed to the mother country. It was there he ultimately expected to rest after his labours. It was there only where he could aspire to honours or preferment, or even procure education for his children. The colony was a place of temporary exile, where he submitted to live, in order to amass a fortune; France was the home where he proposed to enjoy it. But Spain, in every one of these particulars, has followed a policy directly the reverse. No settler in a Spanish colony can return to the mother country, without an express license from the government. Schools, academies, and universities, are established in the Spanish colonies for the education of the natives. A richly endowed church and splendid hierarchy are open to their ambition. A numerous, respectable, and opulent body of colonial nobility, are strangers to Spain; and additions are continually making to their number from colonists who never crossed the Atlantic. Experience has shown, that both systems of policy are compatible with the security of the mother country; but, if we consider the internal good of the colonies, we can have little hesitation in giving, of the two, the preference to the French. The Spanish colonies languish under the weight of a cumbrous and oppressive government, calculated not for their own necessities, but to secure, by its extensive patronage, their fidelity and obedience to Spain.

It would lead us to details as prolix as they would be uninteresting, if we were to follow M. Depons in his account of the internal government of Caracas. We shall therefore extract those particulars only in which he differs from Robertson, or where he has added facts or observations of importance to the account of that elegant historian.

The captain-general of Caracas holds his office for seven years. His appointments are valued at 18,000 dollars a year, one half of which consists in his salary, and the other half in perquisites of office. He is bound to reside for 60 days in the colony after the arrival of his successor, in order to answer any complaints that may be brought against him; and these must be decided within other 60 days at furthest. A similar provision is extended to all the other Spanish colonies. Viceroys are even obliged

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obliged to remain for six months in their government after they have resigned it to their successor. But M. Depons trusts that these provisions against the injustice of the governors are, as might be expected, quite illusory.

The inhabitants of Caracas are no longer forced to have recourse to another colony for the settlement of their lawsuits. An *audiencia* or court of law was established at Caracas in 1787. It consists of a regent, three *oidors* or judges, and two *fiscals* or public prosecutors. The regent has a salary of 5300 dollars a year; and each of the judges and public prosecutors 3800 dollars.

The proceedings in the Spanish courts of law are extremely slow, uncertain, and expensive. Business is transacted by means of written memorials of great length, the whole of which must be read over in public to the judges before they can give a decision in the case. M. Depons was present at Caracas when a cause was decided by the Council of war, arising from a vessel which had been cut out of port by the English. The memorials laid before the judges filled 780 sheets of paper, and three days were entirely occupied in hearing them read. The Spanish law is also too favourable to the challenge of judges and assessors by the parties, and too indulgent to appeals. By a contrast, singular in itself, though not uncommon in countries where the despotism of the government is tempered by the influence of the church, there is no law more indifferent about the liberties of men than the Spanish, and none more tender of their lives. The slightest suspicion of a crime is sufficient to hurry a man to prison. The clearest evidence of guilt is hardly able to bring him to the gallows.

The *cabildos* or municipal governments of the new world, were established by the Spaniards at a time when they still enjoyed freedom at home; and they were therefore modelled on the plan of the cities of Castille. They consist of two *alcaldes* or magistrates chosen annually by the *regidores* or council, who hold their offices for life. The *cabildos* of Caracas possessed at one time great political privileges and influence, which they obtained during the weak administration of the House of Austria. But the Bourbons, true to their principle of tolerating no power in the state that could serve as a controul upon their own, contrived, in the course of the last century, to reduce them to a state of insignificance in which they still continue. M. Depons, who is a warm friend to the unity and indivisibility of power, finds much to admire in this proceeding, though he confesses that the *lieutenants of justice*, as he calls them, who have succeeded to the power of the *cabildos*, look to their places only as a road to fortune.

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The military establishment of Venezuela consists of one company of grenadiers and ten companies of the line, making in all 918 men, who are recruited in Spain, and distributed at Caracas, Guayra, and Porto Cabello. The artillery is 900 strong, and and consists of one company of Europeans, and eight companies of Creoles, people of colour, and blacks. The militia, amounting to 4740, is formed of Creoles and people of colour. In Cumana there are three companies of Europeans, amounting to 221; 450 artillerymen; and 2245 militiamen. In Maracaibo there are 308 Europeans on the military establishment, 100 artillerymen, and 810 militiamen. In the Isle of Margarita there is a company of 77 European soldiers, with 400 native artillerymen, and 770 militiamen. In Varinas there is a single company of 77 men. The whole military force of the captain-generalship of Caracas, therefore, amounts to 13,136 men, supposing all the companies to be complete; but the distance of one province from another is so great, that, if attacked by an enemy, each must look to its own resources alone for its defence.

The fortified towns upon the coast are Maracaibo, Coro, Porto Cabello, Guayra, and Cumana. Of these, the best fortified and most important are Porto Cabello and Guayra. The inland towns, which are the richest and most valuable, are quite open and defenceless. M. Depons recommends to an enemy who would invade Caracas, not to waste time in the attack of the fortified places on the coast, but to land in some convenient situation; and while the invading fleet kept the garrisons of the forts in check, to advance with the invading army against the towns of the interior. As soon as these were in the possession of the invaders, the militia would disperse, and the towns on the coast would be forced to surrender for want of provisions.

Ecclesiastical Establishment. The stability of the Spanish government in America is maintained as much by the policy of her ecclesiastical government as by her civil and military institutions. From the place of archbishop to that of door-keeper of the cathedral, all ecclesiastical preferment in America flows directly from the king. The priests, secular and regular, may be considered as an army devoted to his service, and ready to expose themselves in defence of his authority. To the influence which the ignorance and bigotry of the people naturally confer upon their clergy, the Inquisition superadds its terrors. Three courts of that inexorable tribunal maintain the purity of the Catholic faith in Spanish America.

The tithes throughout America belong to the king; and he allows out of them what he pleases for the maintenance of the clergy. In general, the crown is contented with one ninth of the

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the produce of the tithes; one fourth is allowed to the bishop, one fourth to the chapter, and the remainder goes to the parish priest, to the repair of churches, and to other pious uses. There are three bishoprics in Caracas. Before the last war, the annual revenue of the bishop of Caracas amounted in some years to 70,000 dollars. It is now reduced to about 40,000. The parish priests in Caracas are chiefly Creoles. The number of priests in Spanish America, though infinitely greater than the good of the colonies requires, is sensibly on the decline. There has been no convent founded in Caracas for the last 60 years. Missions to convert the Indians were not established in Caracas till the middle of the 17th century. They are still in existence; but the missionaries are accused of occupying themselves little with the object of their institution, and of availing themselves of their situation to defraud and oppress the Indians. Some of them acquire great wealth by commerce, or rather by contraband. There are missionaries who have scraped together, by such means, from 30 to 40,000 dollars.

Agriculture.—Agriculture is at a low ebb in Caracas. There are not twenty estates in the province which bring in more than 4 or 5000 dollars a year of clear income to the proprietors. Not that landed property is much subdivided, but it is rare to find more than the tenth part of an estate in cultivation. M. Depons assigns five causes for the low state of agriculture in this province. 1. The proprietors are in general drowned in debt. It is not usual for a Spaniard to sell his estate, till he is reduced to the greatest necessity. He prefers rather to borrow money upon it, for which he pays an interest of *5 per cent.* There is hardly an estate in the colony, which has not some burden of this sort pressing upon it. 2. It is equally uncommon to meet with an estate, which has not some rent charge to pay to the church, in consequence of the dying bequest of some pious ancestor of its owner. Such burdens dissipate the gains, and dishearten the industry of the colonists. 3. The planters live in towns, at a great expense, and often above their income, and leave the management of their estates to overseers. 4. The Spanish Creole has the most extravagant passion for public offices and distinctions; for military rank; for some employment in the courts of law, or in the finances; or for the cross of some order. Every Creole of rank has an *apoderado*, or agent at Madrid, whose chief business is to solicit such favours for his employer, when they become vacant. Immense sums are sacrificed to this foolish vanity, and the attention of the colonist withdrawn from his true interest, the improvement of his estate. 5. There is a want of negroes for cultivation at Caracas. It was formerly permitted to import negroes into

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into this province from the West India islands; but since the revolt of the Blacks in St Domingo, this trade has been prohibited; and from 1791 to 1804, not a single negro was brought into Caracas. In 1804, permission was granted to two merchants of Caracas to import each 1500 negroes into the province.

The productions of Caracas are, 1. *Cacao*, which is esteemed the best in the world, except that of Soconasco. When the cacao of Caracas is sold at Cadiz for 50 dollars per cwt., that of the river Magdalena, near Carthagena, brings only 44, that of Guayaquil only 32, and that of the river Amazons only 25. A single slave can manage 1000 feet of cacao ground, which ought to produce 1250 lib. of cacao, worth 250 dollars in Caracas. The other expenses of cultivation are inconsiderable. A cacao tree begins to bear fruit at the age of seven or eight years, or, near the line, at the age of four or five, and continues to bear till fifty on the coast, or till thirty in the interior. There is no branch of cultivation to which such attention is paid in Caracas as to that of cacao. 2. *Indigo*. The cultivation of indigo was not introduced into Caracas till 1774. It has since prospered exceedingly. The indigo of Caracas is inferior to that of Guatemala; but 25 or 30 *per cent.* better than that of any other country. 3. *Cotton*. Cotton began to be attended to in Caracas, as an object of exportation, in 1782. The cultivation of it is now considerably extended. 4. *Coffee*. Coffee was neglected as an object of commerce in Caracas till 1784. During the late war, many cacao and indigo plantations were given up, and converted into plantations of coffee. But the whole produce of Caracas for exportation in this article does not yet exceed a million of pounds. It is reckoned that the coffee plantations of Caracas give two pounds of coffee for every square foot. 5. *Sugar*. The whole of the sugar raised in Caracas is consumed within the colony. No people are so fond of sweetmeats, or use such quantities of sugar in their food, as the Spaniards. It is calculated that, in the province of Venezuela alone, they consume 40,000 cwt. of cacao a year, and a much greater quantity of sugar. 6. *Tobacco*. This being an article of royal monopoly, is cultivated in Caracas, as in every other part of Spanish America, on account of the king. In addition to this account of the territorial riches of Caracas, may be mentioned the immense herds of oxen, horses, mules, sheep and deer, which are dispersed over its plains and vallies. M. Depons asserts, that the number of oxen is not less than 1,200,000; and he reckons the horses at 180,000, and the mules at 90,000.

Commerce.—The ports of Caracas which have a right to trade with the mother country, are Guayra, Porto Cabello, Maracaibo, Cumana, Barcelona, Margarita, and Cumana: But Guayra alone has

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has more trade than all the rest. In 1796, the whole value of the imports from Spain to Caracas was estimated at 3,118,811½ dollars, and the import duties came to 281,052 dollars. The exports to the mother country in the same year are rated in the customhouse books at no more than 2,098,316 dollars, and the export duties at 188,052 dollars, many vessels having sailed without their cargoes, in consequence of the alarm of a war with England.

Caracas carries on little trade with the other Spanish colonies. Its exports to Cuba and Porto Rico are not above 100,000 dollars annually. It is true that vessels from the mother country, after discharging their cargoes at Vera Cruz, are permitted to touch at Caracas in their way home, and to take a cargo on board there, which they pay for chiefly in specie. This trade is supposed in time of peace to bring about 400,000 dollars annually into Caracas.

Caracas, like the other colonies on the Spanish Main, has permission to export to foreign West India islands all articles of its own produce, except cacao, provided the trade be carried on in national bottoms; but the returns must be in negroes, or in farming and household utensils, and the balance, if any, must be paid in money. Previous to 1796, the exports of Caracas, by this branch of trade, were confined to about 150,000 dollars, in the productions of its soil, 50,000 dollars in hides, and 250,000 dollars in mules, which were sold in the West Indies for 500,000. The whole returns, in negroes and utensils, did not exceed 100,000 dollars; and the balance, which ought to have been paid in money, was received in manufactured goods, which were smuggled into Caracas.

There has been a contraband trade upon this coast, ever since the colony had any commodities to offer strangers in return for their goods; and, in spite of the vigilance of the Spanish government, it must continue to flourish, while the mother country is unable to supply the colonists from her own manufacturing industry, and refuses to admit the manufactures of other nations, without duties of near 50 per cent. Before the year 1791, the French colony of St Domingo had the greatest share of this trade. It is divided at present between Jamaica, Curaçoa, and Trinidad. According to M. Depons's calculation, it amounted to 750,000 dollars annually, before the breaking out of the war with England in 1796.

During that war, Spain made a violent departure from her ancient colonial policy, by admitting neutrals to trade directly with her colonies, on condition that they paid the same duties to her government at home, as if the trade had been carried on in the usual

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usual manner through Cadiz. An order to this effect was issued in November 1797; but such was the outcry raised against it, by the shipping interest of Spain, that it was recalled in February 1800. This revocation served only to throw a number of Spanish vessels, which put rashly to sea in order to resume their colonial trade, into the hands of the English; and it gave additional spirit to the contraband trade, which had prevailed during the whole course of the war, between the Spanish Main, and the islands of Jamaica, Curaçoa, and Trinidad. This trade was carried on by Spanish vessels, which, being provided with passports from the English admiral on the West India station, sailed from their own harbours on pretence of a voyage to some friendly or neutral port; but being at sea, they made directly for Jamaica, or some other English settlement, where they exchanged their cargoes for English goods. To such a height did this trade proceed, that more than 400 vessels were constantly engaged in it, and 80 vessels with Spanish colours were sometimes to be seen at once in the harbour of Kingston. The little town of Porto Cabello alone exported produce, in 1801, to the value of 1,270,858 dollars, nominally to Guadaloupe, but in reality to Jamaica and Curaçoa. The Spanish government, though perfectly aware of the existence of this traffic, connived at it while the war continued; but, on the return of peace, a royal order was issued to inquire after and punish the persons who had been concerned in it.

There is a *consulado* or chamber of commerce at Caracas, established in 1793. All commercial causes are brought before it; and it is also charged with the superintendance of commerce, agriculture, and public works. But this part of its duty, according to M. Depons, is much neglected. It enjoys a revenue of 80 or 100,000 dollars a year, arising from certain duties appropriated to its support.

M. Depons gives the following tables of the exports of Caracas, for the years from 1793 to 1796, and from 1797 to 1800 inclusive. The difference shows, that either the exports of the colony have been reduced to one half by the war with England, or that the contraband exportation has been greatly increased in the latter period.

Exports from 1793 *to* 1796.	*Dollars.*
367,819 cwt. cacao, at 18 dollars p. cwt., make	6,620,742
2,955,963 lib. indigo, at 12 reals p. lib.	5,172,937
1,498,332 lib. cotton, at 20 dollars p. cwt.	299,666
1,325,584 lib. coffee, at 12 dollars p. cwt.	159,070
	12,252,415

Exports

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Exports from 1797 *to* 1800.	*Dollars.*
239,162 cwt. cacao, at 18 dollars p. cwt. -	4,304,916
793,210 lib. indigo, at 14 reals p. lib. - -	1,386,117
2,834,254 lib. cotton, at 20 dollars p. cwt. -	566,850
1,536,967 lib. coffee, at 12 dollars p. cwt. - -	184,435
	6,442,318

Finances. The finances of Caracas are under the direction of the Intendant, whose authority is independent of the captain-general, and supreme in the colony in all matters of commerce and finance. He holds his place for five years, and it brings him about 18,000 dollars a year. The revenue of Caracas arises chiefly from the customs, the alcavala or duty of 5 per cent. on sales from stamps, licenses, and tithes, and from the produce of the *Cruzada*, and of the sale of tobacco. The two last are destined for the treasury at home; the others to defray the expenses of the colonial government; but if there is any deficiency in their produce, it is supplied from the two others. It will be seen, from the following table, that there is usually a deficit even in time of peace; and, since the war with England, the whole receipts of the province have been unable to cover its expenditure. In 1801, the government of Caracas was forced to borrow 200,000 dollars from the exchequer of Santa Fé.

Receipt and Expenditure of Caracas from 1793 to 1797, exclusive of the produce of the Cruzada, amounting to 26,000 dollars, and the profit of the sales of tobacco, amounting to 700,000 dollars annually.

Years.	*Receipt.*	*Expenditure.*	BALANCE *For.*	BALANCE *Against.*
1793.	1,312,188¼	1,503,583⅝	—	191,365⅝
1794.	1,561,931	1,639,900	—	77,969
1795.	1,443,056	1,549,874	—	106,817
1796.	1,389,804	1,049,247	340,565	—
1797.	1,140,788	1,886,363	—	745,475

Topography. Our limits will not permit us to follow M. Depons in his topographical description of the country, though his readers will find this chapter to be the most entertaining and instructive part of his work. He has intermixed, with his description of the towns, many interesting remarks on the character and manners of their inhabitants, and many useful observations on the defects and abuses of their government and police. The native Spaniards to be found in Caracas, are chiefly Biscayners and Catalans, who, with emigrants from the Canary islands, form the best part of the foreign population of the colony. The Biscayners

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ners and natives of the Canary Iſles often apply to agriculture, with great profit to themſelves, and advantage to the ſettlement. The Catalans devote themſelves ſolely to commerce. They are all three remarkable for their induſtry and morals; but the Biſcayners are more intelligent and enterpriſing than the other two. The people of colour are the mechanics of the colony. They are poor and lazy, and unſkilful tradeſmen; but they are free from any groſs or dangerous vices, and exceedingly devout. The chief town ſwarms, as in the mother country, with beggars, in conſequence of the miſtaken charity which feeds the idle and the profligate, at the expenſe of the induſtrious. The archbiſhop of Caracas, out of his tithes wrung from the induſtrious cultivator, diſtributes his charity once a week among 1200 profligates, who truſt to ſuch a reſource for their livelihood.

Caracas, the ſeat of government and capital of the colony, has a population of more than 40,000 ſouls. It enjoys an elevated ſituation, a temperate climate, and a ſalubrious air. During the rainy ſeaſon, Fahrenheit's thermometer varies from 76° to 58°, and, during the dry ſeaſon, from 85° to 69°. Guayra, the ſea-port of Caracas, is at the diſtance of five leagues, and is much leſs healthy than that city. The population of Guayra is about 6000 ſouls. Among the inland towns of the province of Venezuela, they reckon more than twelve which contain from 7000 to 13,000 inhabitants, beſides many thriving and induſtrious villages. Porto Cabello, like other towns upon the coaſt, is leſs healthy than thoſe of the interior. Its population is reckoned at 7600; and that of Coro, which is alſo upon the coaſt, amounts to 10,000.

The province of Cumana is extremely fertile; and if the Spaniſh government have the good ſenſe to wink at the intercourſe of its inhabitants with the iſland of Trinidad, it is likely to proſper and improve with great rapidity. Cumana and Barcelona, its principal ſea-ports, are unhealthy, from the badneſs and inattention of the police; but this evil might eaſily be remedied. Cumana has a population of 21,000, and Barcelona a population of 14,000, ſouls.

Margarita is a poſſeſſion of little value to the Spaniards; but, in the hands of an active and enterpriſing enemy, it might do them incalculable miſchief, by intercepting the trade between Caracas and the mother country, for which its ſituation is ſingularly well adapted.

The ſituation of Maracaibo is hot, but the climate is ſalubrious. It contains a population of 22,000 ſouls, among whom are a number of noble families, ſunk in indigence, and prevented, by the prejudices of birth, from engaging in any induſtrious occupation.

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tion. Merida, an inland town of the same province, is distinguished for the industry and intelligence of its inhabitants.

Spanish Guiana. The same reason which compelled us to abridge our extracts from the last chapter, obliges us to be entirely silent on the subject of the present, though it contains much curious and valuable information with respect to the course and navigation of the Orinoco.

Would the emancipation of the Spanish colonies be favourable to their future progress and improvement? Would it enable them to redress the grievances under which they at present labour? If assisted to acquire, are they strong enough to maintain their independence? These are questions, which we have neither time nor room to discuss at length; but the subject of this article, and the interest excited at this moment by the expedition of Miranda, seem to call for some observations on these topics.

The greatest defect in the Spanish colonial government consists in its governing too much; in its being too officious, too intermeddling, too complicated, and too expensive; in its being calculated, not to favour the growth, and protect the progress of an infant colony, but to harass and torment, with unavailing remedies, the last moments of a state sinking under weakness and decrepitude. A numberless host of dependants is kept up, to maintain the colonies in subjection. Checks on the abuse of power are multiplied, till authority clashes with authority, and the people are oppressed without being protected. The same form of government is spread over every part of America, and the same institutions established in the most retired village, which have been found useful or necessary in the seats of government and commerce. The magistrates and retainers of justice are as numerous and as active in a country, where every man has plenty within his reach, as they are in Europe, where an immense population is struggling for subsistence in the midst of its own vices. A devout and well-intentioned government exerts more vigilance about the morals and faith of its subjects in the wilds of America, than it employs vigour at home in the defence of their lives and properties and independence.

The expense of the colonial government, though unnecessarily great, is compensated, in part, by the salaries of its servants being consumed in the places where they are received. But more than two millions are withdrawn from the annual income of the colonies to replenish the Royal treasury of Madrid, from which no part of it ever returns. The taxes and fiscal regulations, by which this revenue is drawn from the people, are singularly injudicious and vexatious. Agriculture is discouraged by the exaction of tithes; commerce harassed by the collection

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of alcavalas; and the people chafed and fretted by monopolies. But the least exceptionable taxes in the Spanish colonies, are those which have no other object but to raise money. The Spanish government is one of those which conceives it to be its chief duty to promote the industry of its subjects, and to direct them in the right path to opulence; and to these ends its fixed regulations are made subservient. The colonies are sacrificed, as usual, to the mother country; and their heaviest tax is the tribute which they are compelled to pay to the laziness, ignorance, and unskilfulness of Spanish workmen and manufacturers. With the same well-meaning views, one colony, one province, or one city, is continually sacrificed to some other; and an order often arrives unexpectedly from Madrid, which suspends the most flourishing trade, and condemns a whole province to idleness and want.

If there are abuses which would be corrected by a government resident in America, and acquainted with its local necessities, the Spanish colonies cannot but gain by emancipation. Nor are the same evils and disorders to be apprehended in Spanish America from a change of government, which would follow any disturbances in the West India islands, or such as befel the unfortunate colony of St Domingo. The natural aristocracy of the Spanish colonies resides in the country, and consists of men born and educated in the midst of their inferiors and dependants. The people of colour are sober and religious. The African negroes are few in number; and the blacks born in the colonies are reconciled to their situation, and accustomed to the same easy and indolent life with their masters. The Indians are the least of all to be feared. The form of government best suited to a people like the Spanish Americans, is monarchy; and if the monarch presented to them were of the royal family of Spain, or nearly related to it, they would probably submit to him without reluctance.

Some of these colonies are capable, even in their present state, of forming great and powerful empires. Mexico alone contains more than four millions of inhabitants. Peru, including Potosi and Quito, contains as many. The provinces watered by the Orinoco are less populous, and less able to maintain their independence without the protection of some foreign state; but such is the fertility of those regions, and so admirably are they situated for commerce, that if emancipated from the mother country, they would advance with the rapidity of the United States. With their present means and resources, they are infinitely less able to maintain an independent government, than the populous and opulent regions of Mexico and Peru. Yet, it is against their

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colonies that Miranda has directed his efforts. Local and private connexions may have decided his choice; but, whatever be his success, and nothing has yet appeared to make us augur favourably of his enterprize, we may rest assured, that the colonies which he is endeavouring to emancipate, are unable to defend themselves against the mother country, without the succour and protection of England. It is to be hoped, that this succour and protection will be either steadily withheld, or honourably persisted in; and that the colonists will not be first encouraged to take up arms against their sovereign, and then abandoned without a scruple to his vengeance.

ART. XII. *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales, A. D. 1188. By Giraldus de Barri.* Translated into English, and Illustrated with Views, Annotations, and a Life of Giraldus, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, F. R. S. A. S. 2 vol. 4to.

NOTHING is so convenient to philosophers, historians, and antiquaries, as to have one grand solution for doubts and mysteries of every kind whatsoever—something which shall be a master-key for all locks, or rather a *panacæa* for every spasm of doubt or hesitation, which may assail the investigator into antiquity. Two very emphatic words, namely, the FEUDAL SYSTEM, were long in reputation as this universal talisman; insomuch that, in the days of Tristram Shandy, the origin of trunk hose and buttered beer was satisfactorily referred to this respectable source. But as some invalids are found to prefer the Vegetable Tincture, and others the Balm of Gilead, a great number of later antiquaries have drawn their general arguments, respecting old customs, from the effect of the *Crusades*, instead of the Feudal System. At length, even this fell into disuse; and, the fashion favouring other and more remote systems of deduction, it seems now to be allowed, that our modern age owes as little to these famous expeditions, in the way of information, as those who undertook and conducted them had to boast of real and immediate advantage. It was indeed lucky for these last mentioned personages, that their soul's health was what they had primarily and directly in consideration. *Certes*, imagination can present no state more uncomfortable for the body, than that of a Norman or English chevalier sheathed in, or rather gridironed upon, his own glowing armour, amid the burning sands of Palestine, and rendered half mad by an host of light-armed Paynims, who, far from allowing

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the Red-cross Knights to slake their thirst of vengeance upon their unchristened persons, were contented to hover around them, and overwhelm them alternately with clouds of dust and of arrows. Sorry we are for these doughty sons of chivalry, that our rigid Calvinism cannot permit us to hope that they escaped the singeing of one whisker in the fire of purgatory, by anticipating its pains in the sultry conflicts of the Holy Land; and that we are compelled to believe that all their reward consisted in the immediate pleasure thereby purchased, of now and then cutting the throats of a few Saracens, and occasionally rubbing their beards against the real or supposed tombstone of a saint or patriarch. As to our own times, according to the later and more fashionable historical creed, the use of armorial bearings is the only invention which has descended to us from the Crusades; and truly, if the science of Garter and of Lyon could not have been invented at home, we hardly think it was worth while going so far to fetch it. We owe, however, one permanent benefit to the influence of these extraordinary expeditions, namely, the industry with which some few contemporary authors have described people and manners which now no longer exist—a task which these learned persons only undertook, because their subjects were connected with the history of this holy warfare. Among these, the Welch Itinerary of Girald de Barri is particularly interesting. It contains many curious and minute particulars, respecting the state of the ancient Britons during the twelfth century; and it must be allowed that few motives could either have impelled the author to a tour through Wales at that period, or procured him that respect, forbearance, and protection from the lawless chieftains, whose territories he had to traverse, excepting his pious errand for preaching the recovery of Palestine.

A splendid translation of the Itinerary of Giraldus, while on this expedition, is now before us; and we entertain, both for the original work and the merits of the modern edition, that complacent regard with which it becomes the natives of one elevated region of the island to consider the history of another, allied to it in all the dignity of mountain and wilderness. We could compare the Tweed and the Towy, in the manner of Fluellyn, as undoubtedly there are salmon in both. We might also remind the ancient Britons, that, if they have genealogies, we have pedigrees of a length equally remorseless; if they have bards, we have seannachies; if they have *Aps*, we can boast of many a *Mac*; if they have mead, leeks, and cheese, we have cakes, kail, and whisky. We think they could not desire 'better sympathy.' But it is enough, for the present, to vindicate our national interest in Giraldus Cambrensis, by observing, that if ever the day shall

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shall come, that a steady and rational light shall be cast on Welch history, its beams must be reflected upon the dark period of our Scottish annals.

Girald Barri, as we learn from a very good summary of his life by Sir Richard Hoare the editor, was descended, by the father, from a noble Norman family, and, by the mother, from the antient Welch princes. He was born in 1146, at the castle of Manorbur in Pembrokeshire. The future Archdeacon early displayed his inclination for the church, by bursting into tears, and requesting to be conveyed thither, when, upon some hostile invasion, all the youth of the castle rushed to arms. It is probable his father might think him good for little else; and thus, with one grain of the warlike spirit which was then universal, the topographer of Ireland and Wales had been lost to history, and had spent his life in the obscure, though furious, conflicts of the feuds of the Marches. Having acquired, with ease and rapidity, such learning as the times afforded, he was formally dedicated to the church, in which he soon attained preferment. His first remarkable feat was in the capacity of legate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he fairly combated and overcame the reluctance of the Welch to pay disputed tithes of various kinds, particularly of *cheese*, which must have been a considerable object in that country, if we judge of its importance by the anxiety with which it was vindicated. He also signalized his zeal for the church by suspending the aged Archdeacon of St David's, who could not (at least would not) discard his concubine; and this proved equally to Girald's honour and profit; for the Archbishop named him to the office and revenues of the suspended dignitary; burdened, however, with a *modicum* of provision for the antient sinner who preceded him. In administering this new office, our historian had a contest with the Bishop of St Asaph about the right of dedicating a church at Keri, a village on the frontiers of the diocese of St David's. The mode of contesting the point seems not to have been extremely different from that which two contending chieftains would have employed in disputing the title to a manor or lordship; and furnishes so extraordinary a picture of the manners of the age, that we cannot refrain from giving our readers the detailed account of this holy strife. Girald, learning that the Archbishop meant to steal a march upon him, hurried forwards, like an able general, to preoccuppy the ground.

'On the Saturday he despatched messengers to two princes of that country, Eineon Clyd and Cadwalhon, requesting them to send some trusty men of their families, provided with horses and arms, to assist him (if necessity required) in asserting the rights of the church of St David, as the Bishop of St Asaph was reported to be attended by a

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ſtrong body of men from Powys. He ſlept that night at Llanbiſh, and, on coming to Keri early on Sunday morning, found that two of the clergy, and partizans of the Biſhop, had concealed the keys of the church: theſe being at length found, the Archdeacon entered the church, and, having ordered the bells to be rung as a token of poſſeſſion, he celebrated maſs with great ſolemnity. In the mean time, meſſengers arrived from the Biſhop, ordering preparations to be made for the dedication of the church. Maſs being concluded, the Archdeacon ſent ſome of his clergy, attended by the dean of the province, to inform the Biſhop, "That if he came to Keri as a neighbour and a friend, he would receive him with every mark of hoſpitality; but, if otherwiſe, he deſired him not to proceed." The Biſhop returned for anſwer, "That he was coming in his profeſſional capacity as Biſhop of the dioceſe, to perform his duty in the dedication of the church." The Archdeacon and his clergy met the Biſhop at the entrance to the churchyard, where a long diſpute aroſe about the matter in queſtion, and each aſſerted their reſpective rights to the church of Keri. To enforce his claims the more, the Biſhop diſmounted from his horſe, placed his mitre on his head, and taking up his paſtoral ſtaff, walked with his attendants towards the church. The Archdeacon proceeded to meet him, accompanied by his clergy, dreſſed in their ſurplices and ſacerdotal robes, who, with lighted tapers and up-raiſed crucifix, came forth from the church in proceſſional form. At length, each began to excommunicate the other; but the Archdeacon having ordered the bells to be rung three times, as the uſual confirmation of the ſentence, the Biſhop and his train mounted their horſes, and made a precipitate retreat, followed by a great mob, and pelted with clods of earth and ſtones. This reſolute conduct of the Archdeacon gained him the approbation of all preſent, and even of the Biſhop himſelf, who was a fellow-ſtudent with him at Paris.' Vol. I. p. xv. xvi.

Whatever honour our author might claim as the champion of the rights of his dioceſe, we cannot help thinking that the ſight of the two bodies of churchmen, each headed by their dignitary, meeting each other with croſſes raiſed, beginning with a mutual attempt at conſecration, and ending in mutual anathemas, till the bells, like a ſudden diſcharge of artillery, completely routed the oppoſite party, exceeds in grandeur indeed, but not in decorum, the vulgar ſtory of the curates contending who ſhould perform the funeral ſervice.

Upon another occaſion, Girald takes great credit for going to church, on a very ſtormy day, to abſolve certain excommunicated perſons. He admits, at the ſame time, that he would have heſitated, had not all the journey been by land; a circumſtance which ſeems rather to diminiſh the merit as well as peril of his expedition.

Moved by theſe merits, the Chapter of St David's choſe Giraldus

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raldus their bishop when a vacancy took place. The Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans made the same choice, and recommended him to the King for confirmation, praising highly his learning, probity, and spirit. But the King answered, that learning, probity, and spirit, were by no means recommendations to the bishopric of St David's; and thus Giraldus was kept out of the see, for reasons which probably could not have been objected to many of his contemporaries. The Archdeacon was, notwithstanding, highly favoured by Henry II., at whose court he resided for several years. He was even appointed preceptor to John, and added to the number of many learned and accomplished men, whose hard lot it has been to superintend the education of weak and worthless princes. With Prince John, Girald Barri went as secretary to Ireland, where he composed the topography of that kingdom, a valuable and curious work. On his return, he recited his labours before a public audience at Oxford, where, contrary to the usage of the modern theatre, his prelection lasted three whole days; during which, equally differing from modern custom, the author rewarded the patience of his auditors by three hospitable festivals.

In the year 1187, King Henry having taken the cross, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury was sent to preach up the crusade through the country of Wales. Girald accompanied him; and though both laboured zealously, the oratory of the Archdeacon had, according to his own account, more effect than the authority and rank of his dignified companion. Indeed, if we take the respectable authority of one John Spang, Girald would have enlisted a whole Welsh congregation of many thousands at once, had he not fallen into the error of preaching to them in English, which they did not understand. The success of their mission was, however, very great. Women were every where seen struggling to withhold their husbands and sons from taking the fatal vow; and though their tears and entreaties withheld but a few from their purpose, yet Girald has collected all the vituperative reflections upon the fair sex which either sacred or profane authors afforded, with an industry only exceeded by the fifth husband of the Wife of Bath, who compiled the treatise,

> 'Where divers authors (whom the devil confound
> For all their lies) were in a volume bound.
> More legends were there of wicked wives,
> Than good in all the Bible and saints' lives.
> Love seldom haunts the breast where learning lies,
> And Venus sets ere Mercury can rise.'

Besides the aversion to these obstacles called 'brats and wives,' common to Girald Barry with all those industrious

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persons who follow the recruiting service, he had also their happy art of turning even disappointment into commodity. A young man coming to join the Crusaders was waylaid and slain by his enemies. But the holy army was not weakened by his misfortune, for the pathetic exhortations of Girald and Baldwin wrought upon the *twelve* archers who had murdered him, to take the cross, as the only expiation in their power for the slaughter. In one respect the Archdeacon, as well as the Bishop of St David's, appear to have acted with the punic faith of their calling: for although the first to take the cross, yet when their mission was completed, they very considerately exchanged their pilgrimage to the Holy Land for the more peaceful occupation of repairing the cathedral of St David's at home. It was during the course of this missionary expedition, that our author compiled his Itinerary, containing such a variety of curious and interesting topographical information.

When cleared from his vow to go to the Holy Land, Girald accompanied King Henry to France, during which expedition that monarch himself, many of his retinue, and almost all the personal attendants of our author, were carried off by an epidemic disorder. Here he had nearly suffered a loss, of which only a studious scholar can estimate the amount. He had entrusted his baggage, containing important letters of recommendation, a large sum of money, and the journal of his Welch Itinerary, to a stranger, whom he had hired as his personal servant. In his journey towards the sea coast, this man was amissing on the arrival of the Archdeacon at Abbeville, which gave rise to the following methodical reflections by Girald on his supposed loss.

'First—The loss of his money was something, but moderate when compared with his other losses; for money was oftentimes lost, and oftentimes recovered.

'Second—The loss of the earl's letters, and of his own appointment as Legate in Wales, was still greater; but as he knew the purport of them, he could, by similar letters from the justiciary, obtain some kind of redress.

'Third—The loss of his journals was by far the most severe, and indeed irreparable, the book not being as yet published. "*Non edito, sed edendo.*" Life, p. xxviii.

But the reappearance of his domestic, with all his baggage safe and untouched, drew from him the observation,

'That God oftentimes inflicts with heavy tribulations those whom he loves and guides; and at the moment when they are in the greatest distress, shows himself propitious and near at hand.' Life, p. xxix.

When Richard Cœur de Lion departed for the Holy Land, he honoured our author with the situation of coadjutor to William de Long Champ, Bishop of Ely, Regent of the kingdom.

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In this situation he might have attained either the Bishopric of Bangor or of Llandaff; but having fixed his heart on that of St David's, he declined both. At length, on the death of the aged incumbent, he was again recommended as a fit candidate for his favourite see. But his powerful connexions, as a descendant of Welch princes, were deemed an insurmountable obstacle to his attainining the only preferment which he appears to have ever coveted; and a sort of double return took place. Both Bishops elect appealed to the Pope; and Girald, pleading his cause before him in person, presented Innocent III. with his works, with this punning compliment, 'Præsentarunt vobis alii *libras*, sed nos *libros*.' This only proved, that our author did not understand the proper means to secure a favourable reception at Rome; for his adversary's pounds preponderated over his books, and his cause was decided against him. From this period he was involved in disputes with the see of Canterbury and with the Court, although probably the persecutions which he underwent have not been softened in his own account of them. At length, wearied out with the contest, he resigned his archdeaconry and church preferments in favour of his nephew Philip de Barri, to whom he was often accustomed to apply the verse,

Discе, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem,
Fortunam ex aliis——

Girald afterwards lived in retirement, from which he refused to emerge, even when the bishopric of St David's, so long the object of his ambition, was at length offered to him. He died at St David's, in the 74th year of his age, and lies buried in the cathedral church. We have, in the work before us, a most beautiful engraving of his tomb. The character of this learned and zealous historian seems to be very justly summed up by the present translator,

'Noble in his birth, and comely in his person; mild in his manners, and affable in his conversation; zealous, active, and undaunted in maintaining the rights and dignities of his church; moral in his character, and orthodox in his principles; charitable and disinterested, though ambitious; learned, though superstitious; SUCH WAS GIRALDUS. And in whatever point of view we examine the character of this extraordinary man, whether as a scholar, a patriot, or a divine, we may justly consider him as one of the brightest luminaries that adorned the annals of the twelfth century.'

The next department of Sir Richard's work is called an introduction to the History of Wales, from the Invasion of Britain by the Romans, down to the year 1118, when Girald made his progress. This introduction does not quite merit the extensive title which it bears. It is rather to be entitled a Dissertation upon the Campaigns of the Romans in Wales, with a very minute, and,

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we have no doubt, valuable and curious account of the military roads, stations, sculptures, &c. which still preserve the memory of their conquests. Many of their monuments are engraved with great beauty; and the labour of the antiquarian and artist have been by no means confined to such as occur in Wales. Much of this learning, however interesting, is entirely out of its proper place. It would have formed the grounds of an excellent archæological essay, but has no relation to Girald Barri, who but rarely alludes to the Romans, their conquests, or their monuments, during his whole progress. We must confess we should have been more edified by an account of the antient British manners and history, from the period of the retreat of the Romans, till the 12th century. This would unquestionably have thrown light upon the Itinerary of Giraldus; but this whole space is hurried over in less time than is allotted to any individual Roman road; and therefore, we think Sir Richard Hoare has been so far guilty, both of the sin of commission and omission.

We next arrive at the work of Giraldus himself, which is, as we have already repeatedly hinted, a journal of his travels through Wales, when preaching the Crusade, under the auspices of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury. Every day's journey is strictly measured out; and the moving accidents 'by flood and field,' the detention at ferries, and the lack of guides, as piteously detailed as if the sufferers had actually made the tour of Wales under all the disadvantages of the present day. To be sure, instead of a broken postchaise, Baldwin and Girald were occasionally hampered by the obstinacy of some stubborn chieftain; and instead of being served with chickens in their shells to breakfast, they had the animating and sublime risk of being massacred at the next turning, and bequeathing their names to some 'wood of revenge,' or 'den of mourning.' In the style of this antient journal, we acknowledge a tone of perfect veracity in what Girald avouches upon his own knowledge, and of superstitious credulity concerning church miracles, or whatever concerned the craft of the 'Great Diana' of the period. Such a document, in a period of so great antiquity, is invaluable; because we not only learn from thence, with some accuracy, what was the state of the country at the time, but we also become acquainted with the progress of society, and the effect of the antient scholastic education upon our author and his companions, certainly the best informed men of the age. In a word, it presents us with a map, not only of the country itself, but of the manners of the inhabitants, the more valuable, as it was pourtrayed by one who was ignorant of the extent of the service which in the last respect he was rendering us, and who imagined he was recording

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cording facts, when he was only making us acquainted with the weakneſſes to which, in a certain ſtate of ſociety, the human mind is inevitably incident. As a deſcription of the face of the country, and as an index to the feelings of its inhabitants during the reign of Henry II., the Itinerary and its ſupplement furniſh ſeparate objects of conſideration.

In the former reſpect, although the value of Girald's work is univerſally acknowledged, it is to us comparatively an unintereſting ſubject of review. We can only allow its very important merit, hiſtorically ſpeaking, while the minute and local nature of the information conveyed is beyond our criticiſm, and, when unconnected with hiſtory, is perhaps not very deſerving of inveſtigation. Yet ſome of Girald's topographical deſcriptions are in themſelves very ſtriking; and perhaps we cannot ſelect a more favourable ſpecimen of his ſtyle, and of Sir Richard Colt Hoare's tranſlation, than the noted account of the Abbey of Llanthoni.

'In the deep vale of Ewyas, which is about an arrow-shot broad, encircled on all ſides by lofty mountains, ſtands the church of St John the Baptiſt, covered with lead, and an arched roof of ſtone; and, conſidering the nature of the place, not unhandſomely conſtructed, on the very ſpot where the humble chapel of David the Archbiſhop had formerly ſtood, decorated only with moſs and ivy. A ſituation truly calculated for religion, and more adapted to canonical diſcipline, than all the monaſteries of the Britiſh iſle. It was founded by two hermits, in honour of the retired life, far removed from the buſtle of mankind, in a ſolitary vale watered by the river Hodeni. From Hodeni it was called Lanhodeni, for Lan ſignifies an eccleſiaſtical place. This derivation may appear far-fetched, for the name of the place in Welſh, is Nanthodeni. Naut ſignifies a running-ſtream, from whence this place is ſtill called by the inhabitants, Landewi Nanthodeni, or the church of St David upon the river Hodeni. The Engliſh therefore corruptly call it Lanthoni, whereas it ſhould either be called Nanthodeni, that is, the brook of the Hodeni, or Lanhodeni, the church upon the Hodeni. Owing to its mountainous ſituation, the rains are frequent, the winds boiſterous, and the clouds in winter almoſt continual. The air, though heavy, is healthy; and diſeaſes are ſo rare, that the brotherhood, when worn out by long toil and affliction during their reſidence with the daughter, retiring to this aſylum, and to their mother's lap, ſoon regain their long wiſhed for health: for, as my topographical hiſtory of Ireland teſtifies, in proportion as we proceed to the eaſtward, the face of the ſky is more pure and ſubtile, and the air more piercing and inclement; but as we draw nearer to the weſtward, the air becomes more cloudy, but at the ſame time is more temperate and healthy. Here the monks, ſitting in their cloiſters, enjoying the freſh air, when they happen to look up towards the horizon, behold the tops of the mountains as it were touching the heavens, and herds of wild deer feeding on their ſummits:

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mits: the body of the sun does not become visible above the heights of the mountains, even in serene weather, till about the first hour, or a little before. A spot truly fitted for contemplation, a happy and delightful spot, fully competent, from its first establishment, to supply all its own wants, had not the extravagance of English luxury, the pride of a sumptuous table, the increasing growth of intemperance and ingratitude, added to the negligence of its patrons and prelates, reduced it from freedom to servility; and if the step-daughter, no less enviously than odiously, had not supplanted her mother.' I. p. 68, 69.

This rival ſtep-daughter, founded at Glouceſter, under the patronage of Milo Earl of Hereford, was originally a cell of the mother church of Llanthoni in Wales. Sir Richard Hoare, in his notes, gives us an animated picture of the charity by which the foundation was dictated, as well as of the reluctance with which Robert de Betun, originally prior of Llanthoni, compelled to abandon that ſolitary and romantic ſpot, ſought preferment in a more ſafe and wealthy, but leſs intereſting country. This Robert de Betun had been created biſhop of Hereford in 1129, having been the ſecond prior of the monaſtery of Llanthoni.

'Robert de Braci was the third prior of this abbey; during his time the peace and tranquillity of this religious establishment was so completely destroyed, by the continual incursions and depredations of the neighbouring Welsh, that the residence became insupportable: he applied to Robert de Betun his predecessor, for advice and relief on behalf of his distressed brethren. The feelings and conduct of the bishop on this melancholy occasion, are so truly pathetic and charitable, that I shall give them in the words of his biographer: "Singulariter autem succurrebat animo, graviusque torquebat conventus Lanthoniæ inter barbaras gentes deprehensus. Audit spoliatos semel et secundò. Audit victualia jejunis defecisse, nec alia jam posse tuto convectari. Dolet, anxiatur, luget, tanquam omnes trucidasset. Ascivit ad se conventum, tradidit eis domos suas, capellam, horrea, cellaria, cæterasque necessarias officinas, redditus insuper episcopales, quantum necessitatibus eorum sufficere possit. Interim quæsivit et invenit eis locum habitationis apud Glocestriam, expensas dedit ad ædificandum. Secundo anno transtulit illùc conventum."

'Many other particulars concerning Robert de Betun may be found in his life, written by William de Wycumb, prior of Llanthoni, and printed by Warton in his *Anglia Sacra*, from which I shall select another anecdote, as relating to the convent of Llanthoni. On his promotion to the see of Hereford, he is said to have quitted his retirement with reluctance; and on reaching the summit of the Hatterel hills, and looking back to the sanctuary he had left, he burst into a flood of tears, and could with difficulty be removed from the spot: his steady partiality and affection to the community, of which he was once a member, were amply exemplified by his generous and charitable conduct towards it during the period of its distress.'—I. p. 79, 80.

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From the specimen which we have given, it may be noticed, that Girald is spirited and just upon subjects, where most monkish historians are turgid and little scrupulous of veracity. We may therefore trust, so far as the author quotes his personal observation, to the testimony which he has given us of the state of the towns, castles, and religious houses which he had occasion to describe; and had we any doubts on the subject, they would be removed by the industry of the Editor, who has not failed to follow his original through every winding of his journey, and who, we find, corroborates, from the present state of many of the buildings described by the Cambrian, the account rendered of them in the Itinerary.

But although topographical inquiries are worthy of deep attention, because they often tend to confirm or disprove the details of history, yet, when remote from the scene of action, we must admit that we are more deeply engaged by what relates to the state of human manners, than the mere facts that the church of St Germain is situated 'three or four miles from Rhayader in Radnorshire, on the right hand side of the road, from thence to Llanmiddloes;' or that the two castles, newly erected on the Traeth Mawr, are 'one called Deudraeth, belonging to the sons of Conan, situated in Evionyth, towards the northern mountains; the other, named Carn Mardryn,' &c. Our attention has been, therefore, principally engaged by the numerous traits of Welch manners with which Girald has diversified his journal. He often favours us with historical anecdotes; and although he yet more frequently gives superstitious details of miracles and prodigies, we are not to view even these *anilia* with two fastidious an eye. To know what men believe, is one mode of estimating what they are. Besides, such tales are rarely told, without bringing out some circumstance respecting the habits and customs of the actors. For example, in the tale of the spectre who appeared to Henry, we have a slight specimen of the English of that early period. In these respects, such legends may be even more valuable than the facts of history herself; for the dry detail of the annals of a rude people are only interesting to their descendants; whereas, whatever tends to ascertain the manners of an early stage of society, is a step gained in the history of mankind.

Among the customs which Giraldus and his commentator have thus pressrved, we cannot help distinguishing very many which are still common in Scotland. The strange kind of divination practised by inspecting the blade-bone of a sheep, (Vol. I. p. 192.) is not entirely worn out in the Highlands of Scotland. The

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The cloth made by the Welch for their garments, was called Breachan; and the same name is, in old ballad poetry, given to the Highland tartan.

'He turned him right and round about,
And rowed him in his breachan;
And laid him down to sey a sleep,
I' the Lawlands o' Buleighan.'

The curious account given by Sir Richard of the Druidical ceremonies observed on the first of November, immediately recal to a Scotchman the superstitious sports of Hallow-E'en.

'The autummal fire is still kindled in North Wales, being on the eve of the first day of November, and is attended by many ceremonies; such as running through the fire and smoke, each casting a stone into the fire, and all running off at the conclusion, to escape from the black short-tailed sow; then supping upon parsnips, nuts, and apples; catching up an apple suspended by a string with the mouth alone, and the same by an apple in a tub of water; each throwing a nut into the fire; and those that burn bright, betoken prosperity to the owners through the following year, but those that burn black and crackle, denote misfortune. On the following morning the stones are searched for in the fire, and if any be missing, they betide ill to those who threw them in.' Vol. II. p. 315.

The burning of nuts is mentioned at great length by Burns, and is in universal observance in Scotland, though the augury is limited to love affairs. The ducking for apples, and snatching at them when suspended, are also common practices. The passing-bell, mentioned as having been formerly used in Wales, is, or at least was, within these few years retained in some parts of Scotland. The beadle went before the coffin, alternately ringing a small hand-bell, and reciting part of a psalm, or at least some religious rhime, in a very lugubrious tone. Many other curious coincidences might be mentioned.

In the last part of his work, which is a description of Wales, Giraldus gives us two formal and distinct treatises on the good and bad qualities of his countrymen. These run very much into each other. For example, we learn from the first, that the Welch were the most sober and abstemious of men, when living upon their own account; but from the second, that they amply indemnified themselves, when they had an opportunity of feeding on free cost. In the first, they are praised for the dauntless courage with which they exposed their naked bosoms to the spears of the mailed Normans; in the second, censured for their base and dishonourable custom of flying when steadily opposed. Among their virtues, is enumerated that of continence; among their vices, a bad habit of marrying their cousins-german; and finally, Giraldus, as an Englishman, gives his advice how

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Wales may be best subdued and governed, while, as a Welchman, he instructs his countrymen, in a separate chapter, how they may best rebel against and resist the Saxon domination. There can be, however, little doubt, that, in his heart, he was a true Welchman, as is evident from the conclusion of his work, which we shall extract, as a specimen both of the original and of the translation.

'The English, I say, fight in order to expel the natural inhabitants from the island, and secure to themselves the possession of the whole; but the Welsh maintain the conflict, that they, who have so long enjoyed the sovereignty of the whole kingdom, may at least find a hiding-place in the worst corner of it, amongst the woods and marshes; and, banished, as it were, for their offences, may there in a state of poverty, for a limited time, perform penance for the excesses they committed in the days of their prosperity. For the perpetual remembrance of their former greatness, the recollection of their Trojan descent, and the high and continued majesty of the kingdom of Britain, may draw forth many a latent spark of animosity, and encourage the daring spirit of rebellion. Hence, during the military expedition which King Henry the Second made in our days against South Wales, an old Welshman at Pencadair, who had faithfully adhered to him, being desired to give his opinion about the royal army, and whether he thought that of the rebels would make resistance, and what would be the final event of this war, replied, "This nation, O king, may now, as in former times, be harassed, and in a great measure weakened and destroyed by your and other powers, and it will often prevail by its laudable exertions; but it can never be totally subdued, through the wrath of man, unless the wrath of God shall concur. Nor do I think, that any other nation than this of Wales, or any other language, whatever may hereafter come to pass, shall in the day of severe examination before the Supreme Judge, answer for this corner of the earth." II. 360, 361.

Sir Richard Hoare's part of the work is respectably executed. The English is good, and yet preserves that sort of formality which is not unpleasing in perusing an ancient author, and which, indeed, is the necessary consequence of a literal and faithful translation of a topographical work, where it is impossible to recast the sentences upon a freer model, without injuring the authenticity of the translation. The translator's notes and supplement convey all that we can reasonably desire for the illustration of the text, although they want the display of that varied lore with which late commentators have sometimes adorned such subjects. A more intimate acquaintance with ancient poetry might have added something to these lucubrations. For example, there is a long and most curious romance, or romantic history, in the British Museum, on the exploits of Guarine, which would have enabled

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enabled Sir Richard to throw much light upon the history of that famous champion. Fordun should have been consulted concerning the history of Merlin Wyllt or Silvester. Sir Richard would have seen from that early authority, that the prophet died, not in Wales, but in the Silva Calydonia, and was buried at Drummelziar (*tumulus Merlini.*) We also think Sir Richard might have lightened his labours a little, by appealing to Drayton, and other ancient English poets; and are rather surprised, when he describes Barri, that he omits the famous verses of Spenser, on the subject of the din heard amid its rocks, which he poetically imputes to the spirits labouring to complete a duty imposed on them by Merlin, as still expecting the return of their taskmaster. But, although some of these little fringes and ornaments might have been introduced with good effect, we are far from thinking that the commentator has been idle or indifferent. Much valuable and curious matter is drawn from the Cambrian bards, with some very spirited English versions of their poetry, by Richard Fenton, Esq. The following is a specimen from his translation of the Hirlas, or Drinking-Horn of Owen.

'Cup-bearer, when I want thee most,
With duteous patience mind thy post,
Reach me the horn, I know its power
Acknowledged in the social hour;
Hirlas, thy contents to drain
I feel a longing, e'en to pain:
Pride of feasts, profound and blue,
Of the ninth wave's azure hue,
The drink of heroes formed to hold,
With art enrich'd and lid of gold!
Fill it with *bragawd* to the brink,
Confidence-inspiring drink;
Then fill'd, the horn to *Gwgan* bear,
Warrior of the brow severe,
Whose gallant actions loud proclaim
His title to the cup of fame;
Bold in their course, unmatch'd for speed
Are the whelps of *Gronwy's* breed;
Roused to battle, who can stand
The force of the resistless band,
Who, in every conflict hard,
Merit well the bright reward;
Valued chiefs in sudden shout,
Deliverers from disgraceful rout!
Whose guardian voices ever near
Sabrina's shepherds joy to hear,
Whose fame on record shall be found,
So long as horns and mead go round.' II. p. 219, 220.

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The notes, as well as the original of Giraldus, supply some admirable subjects for modern poetry; and we were not surprized, though much pleased, to meet, in the course of our reading, with many of the incidents and heroes of Southey's Madoc. We have, for example,

——' That hot and unexpected charge
On Keiriog's bank——
——————and Berwyn's after strife.'

We recognized also, with pleasure, our friends Rhys, Cyveilioc, and even old Goagan of Powisland. Giraldus, too, furnished Southey with the interesting anecdote concerning the disinterring of old King Owen; in which unworthy operation, we are afraid, the archdeacon was himself an assistant.

This work is most beautifully printed, and adorned with engravings, both of the monuments of antiquity, and of the scenes traversed by the Missionaries of the Crusade. It is a splendid present to Wales; and he will deserve well of Ireland, and we will add of Britain, who shall give an edition of the Topographia Hiberniæ, as well translated and illustrated.

ART. XIII. *Recollections of Paris in the Years* 1802, 1803, 1804, and 1805. By John Pinkerton. 2 Vol. 8vo. pp. 1025. Longman & Co. London, 1806.

We have long known Mr Pinkerton as a laborious polemical antiquary, and a diligent compiler of antiquarian history, in a most absurd and detestable style. We expected something interesting, however, from the Parisian recollections of a man so learned and industrious; and after being quite sickened with descriptions of the galleries, gardens, dinners, and spectacles of Paris, we looked forward with much satisfaction to the more substantial entertainment of Mr Pinkerton's erudition and originality. It was infinitely consolatory, therefore, for us to read in his preface, that many of the topics of which he was to treat, 'were such as did not occur in the works of *fugitive* travellers;' and that new views were introduced on the most trivial, for the instruction as well as the amusement of his readers.

On turning, with some impatience, to the work itself, we were highly gratified to find the first chapter presented under the imposing title of 'General Ideas,' and prepared ourselves for the discussion of some profound and comprehensive maxims as to the succession of political events, and the revolutions of empire, or at least for the exposition of some grand principles for the discri-

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mination of national character, or the correction of prejudices. Instead of this, however, we were mortified to discover, that Mr Pinkerton's 'general ideas' consisted entirely of a very few miscellaneous *facts* with regard to the city of Paris, arranged in the most fantastical order that can well be imagined. We are there told, that the water of the Seine is greenish; and that, in the Place Dauphiné, there is a superb monument to the memory of General Desaix: that the Emperor Julian admired Paris as a place of residence; and that it is warmer than London in summer: that the river was frozen over for a fortnight in 1802; and that the people there do not burn coals, but wood. The next chapter, which is entitled, 'Of the Environs of Paris,' is still worse. It contains absolutely nothing that can be called information; and the sum of its topographical description, we think, amounts to this,—That there is a picturesque island at Charenton; and that St Cloud is a delightful village: that the road from it to Paris is lighted by *reverberating* lamps; and that, at Mont Martre, there are alehouses where the common people dance and eat sallads. We are likewise informed, that, on one of these occasions, the floor gave way, and that several of these merry persons were suffocated in the rubbish.

All this, we must confess, rather disheartened us; but our astonishment, it will easily be believed, was extreme, when we discovered, as we went on, that our plodding, pedantic, pugnacious archæologist, who left this country with a confirmed character for all these accomplishments in 1802, was, in the course of three little years, transformed into a strange likeness of a Parisian *petit-maître*; was become a profound critic in wines, dressed dishes, and ornaments for the table; was in raptures with the freedom and gallantry of the French ladies; prattled pieces of philosophism about adultery and the laws of divorce; and, affecting an air of the most amiable *etourderie*, indicated the profoundest contempt for the usages and fashions of this melancholy island.

Most of our readers have probably had the misfortune to meet with some ill-conditioned young man recently returned from the Continent, bursting with admiration of every thing French, and with derision for every thing English; enraptured with the language, the manners, the poetry, the principles, and philosophy, of the great nation; sneering at our broad cloth and sea-coal, and uttering various original pleasantries on the subject of roast beef, Shakespeare, and connubial fidelity. A personage of this description is said, in our vulgar tongue, to be *Frenchified*; and the word is so very expressive, that we must be permitted to make use of it. Now, we have seen various descriptions of persons who have undergone this salutary process, from gentlemen out of livery, to rich

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rich West Indians; but, until this time, it never was our fortune to meet with a *Frenchified pedant;* and truly the operation, we conceive, could scarcely be performed on a more untoward subject; the natural anxiety, stiffness, and seriousness of the original character, running into very singular combinations with the flippancy and petulance of the new one, and occasionally forming contrasts of a very amusing description. It is the spectacle of this extraordinary metamorphosis, which gives these volumes all the interest they possess. Mr Pinkerton's partiality for every thing French is quite ludicrous and unbounded: not only their dinners, wines, exhibitions, fashions, and fruits, are incomparably superior to ours, but their men and women, their marriages, baths, tastes, tempers, mobs, and artists, are equally delightful: nay, their style of gardening is infinitely more pleasing than ours, and their statuaries much superior to those of Rome and Athens. All this optimism, too, is delivered in a style so exquisitely compounded of the author's old scholastic and his new gallant phraseology, that the result is something quite grotesque and original. We must gratify our readers with a few specimens of these interesting recollections.

'The hour of dinner being so late at Paris, the formerly enchanting meal of supper has become almost unknown. Hence it is generally in the half hour of the desert, when the rosy or white champaign sparkles in the glass, that the French ladies display their most fascinating powers. Assuming, as it were, the character of actresses, they attack the men, or defend themselves, with the most brilliant corruscations of wit and humour, of affected simplicity, or the most refined shrewdness and discernment of character. Their eyes also become so expressive and impassioned, that they seem to wield, like Circe, the rod of enchantment.

'Diderot has somewhere imputed to the British fair an apparent pride, coldness and disdain; nor can it be wondered that such impressions are made by some English women upon Frenchmen; for the French ladies may certainly be said to form a perfect contrast, being warm, humble, and alluring. A French woman always looks upon even a stranger, as if she would be happy to converse with him. Her eyes never fail to say, "Pray, my good sir, talk to me." Perpetually and intensely conscious of her sex, she regards the society of men as the summit of her felicity. Disinterested in her prepossessions, she follows the bent of nature, and not the dictates of avarice. And it not rarely happens, that they are as steady in maintaining an attachment, as they are warm in its formation. The ladies of the south of France, some of them descendants perhaps of the antient Greek colonies, are particularly celebrated for the sweetness of their countenance, the infinite expression of their eyes, and the warmth of their constitutions. A fair Lyonese may be said to form one of the most enchanting objects in the

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univerſe; and the Grecian graces ſeem to have glided thus far to the north. Yet the Frenchmen often ſpeak with rapture of the Italian and Spaniſh women as being yet more divine. The moſt celebrated beauty of Paris, Madam Tallien, is a Spaniſh lady; and the generals have often Italian favourites.' Vol. I. p. 25—27.

This deſcription ſeems to have inflamed our gallant author's imagination to a degree of poetical inſpiration; and, blending certain claſſical images, as is his manner, with his modern recollections, he concludes by exclaiming, 'It is no wonder, then, that an Engliſh traveller feels as if he were in the antient iſland of Cyprus; or at Rome, during the games of Flora, when the courtezans danced naked on the ſtage.' He is afterwards kind enough to inform 'the inexperienced traveller, that the French fair do not grant their favours, without previous ſelection, difficulty, and devotion;' and after giving himſelf, for ſome time, the ridiculous airs of *un homme à bonnes fortunes*, he partly communicates the ſecret of his ſucceſs, in the following ſhort ſentence, which, of itſelf, we really think, might juſtify the account we have hitherto given of this publication.

'The French wines alſo, certainly excite the amorous paſſions; and may be regarded as one cauſe of a ſingularity obſerved in all ages, the gaiety, petulance, and ſalacity of the French male, which ſo powerfully ſeduce the females of other countries.' p. 28.

After this, it will not ſurpriſe the reader to find Mr Pinkerton joining with the Pariſian *beaux eſprits*, to ridicule our proſecutions for *crim. con.* in caſes where 'a man of ſpirit would have recourſe to the ſword or piſtol, if he wiſhed to quarrel about ſuch trifles.' He reaſons alſo on the ſubject of divorce, in the following pious and convincing manner.

'In the new civil code, one chief reaſon aſſigned for a divorce, is a complete diſſonance of temper. And certainly, as marriage could never be intended, either by God or man, to produce mutual miſery, it would ſeem that no juſter cauſe can be aſſigned. Milton in vain attempted to introduce it into the Engliſh laws, which allow no divorce, except for infidelity,—too frequently a matter of laughter in France. With an equal knowledge of human nature, the French code permits the wife to ſue for a divorce, if the huſband keep a ſervant maid or other concubine in the ſame houſe; an outrage generally too powerful for female feelings.' I. 32.

But our author is not Frenchified upon points of gallantry alone;—he is anxious to perſuade his readers, that he has acquired all the ſprightliness and pleaſing prattle of that facetious people, and, in an evil hour, has yielded to the temptation of eſſaying his talent at light and ingenious trifling, in the following and other paſſages.

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'This work may be said, in some degree, to resemble the city of which it treats, and the people whom it delineates.

J'aime tous les genres, hors le genre ennuyeux.

In order to avoid the *tedious nature* of continual description, occasional chapters shall be interspersed of a different character. Nay, as, in Paris, you pass rapidly from a trifling or disagreeable object, to one of the greatest utility and magnificence, the like freedom shall be used in this picture. Yet the author shall not aspire to the license of Montaigne, who, in his chapter on boots, has not said one word concerning boots, though he have treated of almost every thing else.

'It is to be regretted that, when titles were abolished in France, the titles of books were not also included in the proscription; for numerous are the works published at Paris, and elsewhere, which might as well have appeared without any titles at all; and where, as in the Hebrew, the reader may begin at the end. But, as the facetious Count Anthony Hamilton says in his tales, *Mon ami le belier, commencez par le commencement, s'il vous plait,* 'My dear friend the ram, begin at the beginning, if you please,' so shall we proceed to the subject of this chapter, which is the Neology, a name which may be extended to the new forms of composition, and new phrases, as well as the new words, introduced by the French Revolution.' Vol. I. p. 38, 39.

This, it will be admitted, is sufficiently melancholy: perhaps it is a part of the same joke, that there is not in the whole chapter a single new word or phrase specified; though, unlike the Essays of Montaigne, it contains nothing upon any other subject, but a drawling disquisition upon 'words which have been attempted to be introduced by writers of an usurped and *meteoric* reputation, and which have been already effaced by the spunge of oblivion.' There are diverse other pieces of wit, scattered through these volumes; such as the author's sly question to one of the botanical professors, 'Who was the *perruquier* of his orange trees?' which were cut into round tops; his facetious description of dinner, as 'that solemn hour of conviviality, alike agreeable to *infancy*, youth, and age;' and his remark, that 'the Hall of the General Assembly, National Convention, &c. was uncarpeted, whence, the feet becoming chilled, the head became hot, and the consequences are known to all Europe, forming another chapter of great events from little causes.' Brilliant, however, as these sallies of Mr Pinkerton's wit are, in this elaborate performance, we can gather from one or two traits, that he is not gifted with any great felicity of extempore repartee; and that he has sometimes been made the object of a sarcastic pleasantry, to which he did not know how to reply. He speaks with vehement detestation, we observe, of 'those fly pieces of malice, which are launched in the certainty that no reply can be given, because even a repartee would seem to acknowledge the justice of the sarcasm.

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Hence,' he continues, 'any such attack is deteſted, as alike inſidious and cruel, partaking more of the baſeneſs of *poiſoning*, than even of the courage of aſſaſſination.' And, in another place, he ſpeaks with almoſt as much acrimony againſt the learned Villoiſin, who, it ſeems, had a 'trick, unworthy of a great man, of launching ſome unexpected ſarcaſm at the moment of parting, to which he knew his friends could not be prepared to reply; and which only ſhows, (in Mr Pinkerton's opinion) how nearly a great Greek ſcholar could approach to the character of an old woman!'

Of the delicacy of Mr Pinkerton's taſte in the fine arts, the reader may judge from his obſervations on the Venus de Medici, which, he conceives, ſhould be ranked among the third or fourth-rate productions of the art; and from his ſtill more exquiſite obſervation, that a ſtatue, by a nameleſs artiſt of Bruſſels, 'had a gayety and expreſſion in the countenance, ſeldom found in the inſipid ſimplicity of the Grecian models.' After this, we cannot be ſurpriſed to find him extolling the terraced walks and broad alleys of the garden of the Thuilleries, as infinitely more beautiful than the more natural graces of an Engliſh garden; and declaring, that the parts 'of the park at Bruſſels, which approach to this form, are thoſe which give leaſt ſatisfaction.' Yet, after all, we believe moſt readers will be a little ſtartled, when he quotes the example of a bas-relief of a young woman looking for a *flea* upon her chemiſe, as a ſtriking example of the elegant fancy and *amiability* of the French artiſts.

There are two chapters on dinners; and three, we think, on wines, in which Mr Pinkerton has retailed all the common-place remarks which he has been able to collect, during his reſidence in Paris, on theſe intereſting ſubjects. It is in ſome meaſure ludicrous, and in ſome meaſure melancholy, to ſee a clumſy ſaturnine man of letters giving himſelf the airs of a *gourmand enjoué*, and endeavouring to derive a miſerable conſequence from a pretended familiarity with the neweſt caprices of ſenſuality or faſhion, in the gratification of a pampered appetite. In his own inimitable ſtyle he informs us, that 'oyſters are *ſolemnly* accompanied with white wine, eſpecially chablis, particularly agreeable on that occaſion;' and then adds, with all the complacency of a man of ſuperior talents and opportunities, 'The uſe of red wine with oyſters, ſhows great want of *ſçavoir vivre*, and is even pernicious to the health, as it generally produces indigeſtion.' Fiſh, we are then informed, is uſually eaten laſt; and in this reſpect, as in all other, the Pariſian faſhion is pronounced to be incalculably preferable to ours.

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'This custom seems far more agreeable to the stomach, and by practice is found to be so, than our fashion of beginning with the fish, a crude food, of little nutrition, and often of difficult digestion. Indeed it has often appeared to me, from long experience, that what may be called the iatrical, or medical arrangement of the French dishes, cannot be surpassed; and one would imagine that the cooks had consulted beneficent physicians. A person who leaves England with so weak a stomach that it has long refused the luxury of two dishes, may, without inconvenience, taste of twenty at a French repast.' Vol. II. p. 102.

This is very comfortable intelligence; but the regimen of Paris appears to have suited Mr Pinkerton amazingly. He never received any advantage from hot or cold bathing in England; but he assures us, that he 'never returned from a Parisian bath, without feeling a marked increase of appetite and health.' He is likewise pleased to inform us, that the Parisian physicians have lately discovered, 'that a calf's foot, eaten for supper without any sauce, is a remedy more efficacious than bark, in most diseases where that substance is administered.'

He returns again to the table; and, after revelling in the muster-roll of rich wines, he insults our insular taste for not adopting the classical ornament of a *plateau*.

'The *plateau* which decorates the middle of the table, is often strewed with fine sand of various colours, in compartments, and decorated with small images, and real or artificial flowers. Images of porcelain seem particularly adapted for this purpose; and the proper decorations are peculiar objects of good taste. In England, it is not uncommon to see a splendid silver vase, containing a few oranges, or a sallad, placed in the middle of the table, with, perhaps, two smaller vases at either extremity, filled with similar articles, or with bottles of favourite wine. Nothing can be more void of taste, as the contents do not correspond to the richness of the vases, and a statue of clay might as well be mounted on a horse of gold. A bottle of wine, a few oranges, or a sallad, can never delight the eyes, the chief intention of the plateau; and the vases are only profitable to the silversmith.' II. 202, 203.

Now, we must debate this point with Mr Pinkerton. Superb vessels of silver, we think as well calculated to delight the eye, as boards covered with coloured sand; and oranges and sallads, we maintain, are objects altogether as comely to look on, as artificial flowers or verdure, or even images, as our author terms them, of porcelain. His chief objection is, that they may possibly be of some use to the other senses, which, it must be admitted, the *plateau* never can.

We begin to tire of this, now. We have looked through the book in vain for any interesting anecdotes of the figuring and commanding persons in France; but this was too low an office

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for Mr Pinkerton's genius. Even of the Emperor himself, we scarcely find any thing recorded, but the following observation; the tone and style of which, we think, savours infinitely more of a London pot-house, than of an imperial palace. On receiving the congratulations of the Institute on his elevation, the Emperor conversed familiarly with the members of the deputation; and we are requested by Mr Pinkerton to believe, that he uttered the following piece of low and vulgar stupidity.

'He said he did not admire ecclesiastic writers of history, who were apt to give distorted hues, and perhaps to rail against incontinency when they had arisen from the sides of other men's wives; but, observing Caprara and another cardinal within hearing, he said, with a smile, "I did not know that you were so nigh." I. 428.

Mr Pinkerton, however, sees nothing in all this that is not very suitable to the dignity of a sovereign; and proves himself, in more places than one, to have no want of charity for the excesses of this extraordinary person. He assures us, that 'the tranquillity of the country was generally regarded as implicated in the life of the chief magistrate;' and that the schemes of assassination patronized by the English, gave general disgust and indignation. 'Amidst these repeated plots,' he adds, 'it was not to be wondered at, that some fury should have been excited by this new and base mode of warfare; and the *unfortunate death* of the Duke d'Enghien *was rather pitied than blamed.*

Besides the subjects to which we have already alluded, and which form undoubtedly the leading and staple objects of Mr Pinkerton's recollections, there are, in these volumes, some very imperfect details of the common objects of attention at Paris;—the gallery of the Louvre—the garden of plants—the national library—and the literary institutions. There is, likewise, a facetious collection of advertisements for wives and husbands, and some details as to the present methods of education in France. All this, however, could go but a small way to fill up the two octavo volumes, for which, we suppose, the author had contracted with his bookseller; and accordingly he is reduced, we are sorry to say, to very miserable shifts in order to make up the complement. In the first place, he introduces a considerable pamphlet of more than 100 pages, in answer to the general political speculations of Rousseau, cutting it down very cunningly into moderate chapters, and forcing his readers to swallow one every now and then between the Parisian recollections. Then he is pleased to take this opportunity of laying before the public a vindication of his own book on Geography, from some attack that had been made upon its political principles by François de Neufchateau. In the third place, he favours his readers with a long account of the state of literature in Poland; and, finally, he

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he edifies them with a long ſermon upon the folly and wickedneſs of drunkenneſs, which ends with confeſſing that it is the production of a ſinner, and with 'recommending this intereſting ſubject to the *ample* conſideration of ſome moraliſt, who might enrich his work with numerous examples of ancient and modern times, and might inculcate many precious maxims of *logiſlation*, ethics, and humanity.' When all theſe devices prove inſufficient to ſwell out the volume to the requiſite magnitude, he has recourſe to two or three chapters of what he calls 'fragments' or 'ſmall talk,' in which he puts down, without method or ceremony, all ſorts of anecdotes and reflections that his memory or his common-place book can ſupply him with. For inſtance—

'Napoleon is an uncommon name, but it occurs in the "Amours du grand Alcander."

'The word *blackguard* ſeems immediately derived from the French word *blaguer*, to lie. A ſoldier will call a girl of the town a *blaguer*, or a *blaguerese*.

'On the 16th October 1804, ſtrawberries were ſelling in Paris at twenty ſous, or tenpence, a large pottle, ſufficient for two perſons. The means of prolonging the duration of this excellent and wholeſome fruit well deſerve the attention of our ingenious gardeners.

'Nature pays little honour to human reaſon, for ſhe has not even truſted to it the care of our own bodies. The ſuſtenance of the individual, and the continuance of the ſpecies, are not committed to our reaſon.' (II. 373–5.)

Upon the whole, we have ſeldom met with a more unſatisfactory or fatiguing performance than this, of which we are preparing to take leave; and ſhould ſcarcely have ventured to trouble our readers with any account of it, if it had not been to record the extraordinary tranſformation which the author has undergone. We earneſtly hope, that a few months reſidence among his friends in this country, will reſtore him to his original character; and that, in his next publication, we ſhall find him buſy with hiſtorical and geographical reſearches, undiſturbed by the nomenclature of French wines, or the recollections of French gallantry.

ART.

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ART. XIV. *A General View of the Writings of Linnæus. By Richard Pulteney, M. D. F. R. S.. The Second Edition; with Corrections, considerable Additions, and Memoirs of the Author. By William George Maton, M. D. F. R. S. F. S. A. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and a Vice-President of the Linnean Society of London. To which is Annexed, the Diary of Linnæus, written by himself, and now Translated into English, from the Swedish Manuscript in the Possession of the Editor.* 4to. pp. 610. London, 1805.

As the public have been in poſſeſſion of the firſt edition of this work ſince the year 1781, we ſhall confine our notices to the principal additions and alterations which Dr Maton's opportunities have enabled him to ſupply.

The particulars which he relates of Dr Pulteney, under the title of *Memoirs*, will eaſily admit of conſiderable compreſſion. From this narrative, we collect, that Richard Pulteney, the only one of thirteen children who arrived at maturity, was born at Loughborough, on the 17th of February 1730. At a very early age, he imbibed, from his maternal uncle, a taſte for natural hiſtory, and eſpecially for the ſtudy of plants. Having completed his attendance at an elementary ſchool, and ſubſequent apprenticeſhip to an apothecary, he commenced practice at Leiceſter, though with no very flattering proſpects; for many of the inhabitants treated him with coldneſs and indifference, merely becauſe he adhered to thoſe Calviniſtic tenets in which he had been educated.

In 1750, he became a contributor of articles, chiefly botanical, to the Gentleman's Magazine. Some of his more extended communications, which were inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, introduced him to the acquaintance and patronage of the Earl of Macclesfield and Sir William Watſon, and procured him admiſſion into the Royal Society in 1762. His friends, who could appreciate his character and attainments, regarded his ſphere of life as much too humble and obſcure, and exhorted him to take his degree of doctor in phyſic, and remove to the metropolis. In 1764, he accordingly obtained his diploma from the Univerſity of Edinburgh, though he had not in all reſpects complied with the academical regulations. His inaugural diſſertation, entitled, *Cinchona Officinalis*, was deemed worthy of inſertion in the *Theſaurus Medicus*.

Having now removed to London, Dr Pulteney was introduced, by the celebrated Mrs Montagu, to his relation the Earl of Bath, who appointed him phyſician to his perſon, with a handſome

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some salary. The death of that nobleman, however, which happened very soon after, induced the Doctor to accept of a medical vacancy at Blandford, where, by his skill, prudence and honourable conduct, he soon established his professional reputation, and the independence of his circumstances.

Besides his view of the writings of Linnæus, he published, 'Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England, from its Origin to the Introduction of the Linnæan System.' These were at first intended as an introduction to an abbreviated English Flora; but the author was reluctantly persuaded, 'by those who understood book-*making* better than himself,' to limit his publication to the Sketches. He likewise furnished some valuable materials for *Aikin's England Delineated*, *Nichols's History of Leicestershire*, and Gough's edition of *Hutchins's Dorsetshire*. He was in habits of correspondence with some of the most eminent botanists in Europe, excelled in conchology, and was no mean proficient in subjects more immediately connected with his profession. Such was the constancy of his application, that 'every visit that he made to a distant patient; every walk that he took in the vicinity of his own residence, furnished him with some new fact, or with some addition to his museum. He was in the habit of recording every plant he saw, either wild in the hedge-rows, or adorning the green-houses of his friends; and the principal contents of every cabinet he inspected were always noted down. In short, our indefatigable naturalist seems to have taken for his motto the maxim of his great master, Linnæus—"*Nulla dies sine linea.*" The exhaustion, however, occasioned by unremitting labour of intellect, by long journeys, and sleepless nights, began to affect a constitution which was never vigorous, and, on the 7th of October 1801, induced an inflammation on the lungs, which proved fatal on the 13th of the same month.

With unwearied zeal in the prosecution of his favourite study, Dr Pulteney combined unsullied purity of manners, a generous independence of sentiment, unfeigned benevolence, and a marked abhorrence of bigotry and intolerance. To Mrs Pulteney, he bequeathed the bulk of his affluent fortune; to the Linnean Society his valuable museum; and to the editor of the present work his botanical manuscripts.

In adverting to the principal portion of Dr Maton's editorial labours, it may be proper to remind our readers, that his predecessor disclaimed all pretensions to the character of a biographer, and that he incorporated, in the first part of his performance, only such particulars relative to the private life of his author, as might 'relieve the tediousness of a bare account of books, and connect,

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connect, in a better manner, the series and occasion of his publications.' As he even regrets the scantiness of such notices, we cannot charge his learned editor, who has considerably multiplied them, with any deviation from the original design; yet such is the distribution of his materials, that when he acts in conformity to the views and wishes of his deceased friend, he anticipates some interesting passages of a subsequent part of the volume. In the event of a second impression of the book, we would submit to Dr Maton's consideration the propriety of moulding his materials anew, and exhibiting a regular view of the life and writings of the great Swedish naturalist. Even a separate and connected narrative of his life, illustrated by occasional extracts from his correspondence, and interspersed with suitable remarks, is still wanting, to supersede the clumsy and inaccurate pages of Stoever, and the flimsy encomiums of the foreign Eloges. Linnæus, indeed, consumed months and years in silently poring over volumes and the productions of nature: but of the father of modern nomenclature, and of the man who, by his own exertions, rose from the condition of a beggar-boy to wealth, nobility, and fame, we are solicitous to know more than that he was studious and indefatigable; and, fortunately, more may be known. Some authentic details may be traced in his own writings, or in those of his pupils and followers. The president of the Linnæan Society possesses manuscripts which probably throw additional light on some parts of his life and character; and a curious collection of facts is annexed to the volume now before us. Without materially affecting the interest with which we peruse these memoranda, Dr Maton might certainly have furnished us with a more circumstantial recital of the Lapland Tour than has hitherto appeared. The consideration, however, that Dr Smith has destined the *Lachesis Lapponica* for the press, has probably restrained his pen.

We now hasten to announce, that our judicious editor has not only added to the biographical notices, but adopted such an arrangement of the critical remarks, as to preserve the order of chronology, and admit the regular incorporation of the requisite corrections. He, moreover, presents us with an entire, instead of a partial retrospect of the *Systema Naturæ*, with a complete tabular analysis of the *Materia Medica*, and with indications of volumes 8, 9, & 10, of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, which were published since Dr Pulteney composed his work.

'Besides these more obvious additions, notices and observations are interspersed in various parts of the work, tending either to supply what the editor deemed improper to be omitted, or to perfect more nearly the author's original plan. Since Dr Pulteney wrote, there have been new editions of several of the works which he mentions; and improvements

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ments in various parts of them have been so generally adopted by the Linnean school, as to require being distinctly noticed in a performance like the present. Hence, in *this* respect also, much additional matter has been introduced, serving to render the volume as complete a view of the existing state of Linnean literature, as the editor's opportunities of information would permit. These opportunities have been greater, perhaps, than could be enjoyed elsewhere in the world; and if (as will too probably be the case) he should not be found to have employed them in a manner adequate to the expectations of the public, his claims to indulgence can be grounded only on the various avocations and duties necessarily attendant on an active profession. Sir Joseph Banks's kind permission to make use of his invaluable library; the accurate information and friendly assistance of Mr Dryander, one of the few surviving pupils of Linnæus; the communications with which he has been favoured by Dr James Edward Smith, possessor of the Linnæan MSS., library, and museum; and various other advantages, the editor cannot acknowledge without peculiar satisfaction and thankfulness.' p. vii. viii.

We likewise learn, from a marginal note, that Professor Williams of Oxford permitted the editor to make use of the manuscripts belonging to the Botanical Library in that University.

Among the notices which Dr Maton has enlarged, and which might have invited him to still greater expansion, are those which relate to the travelling pupils of Linnæus, whom Dr Pulteney had despatched with dry and uninteresting brevity. Of the 9th and 10th volumes of the *Amœnitates*, to which Linnæus did not contribute, only the titles of the papers are given; but we should have been glad to see a more regular abstract of the 8th, both because its contents are so little known to the mere English reader, and because, when the Doctor indulges in a little dilatation, we recognize the superior interest of his analysis. We extract the following instance, for the benefit of all whom it may concern.

'Linnæus (as we have before remarked) derived great benefit, under the attacks of gout to which he was subject, from the use of strawberries. The present paper states particularly, in addition to a botanical history of the genus *Fragaria*, the circumstances under which that fruit proved of such singular service to our author, and which induced him to recommend it to arthritic patients in general. It appears, that about the end of June 1750, he experienced so violent an attack as to be unable to take either nourishment or repose for a fortnight; and he could not even keep his feet quiet two minutes at a time. The complaint passed from one foot to the other, into his hands, and also to other joints, affecting them with redness, swelling, and all the usual appearances. A plate of strawberries having been accidentally brought to him, whilst he was in this afflicted state, they proved to be the only article that was at all grateful to his palate; and after eating them he slept some hours, the only

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only time during the whole fourteen days of his illness. When he awoke, he ate more strawberries; and having again good sleep from midnight until the next morning, he found himself well enough to leave his bed, and in fact experienced no pain whatever, though the disease had of course debilitated him extremely. The following year, the gout came on again, about the same period; and our invalid being then at Drottningholm, his pale sickly countenance struck the Queen, who very condescendingly inquired what he would take? Linnæus replied "*Strawberries,*" which were not to be procured. Her Majesty, however, ordered a plate of this fruit to be brought; and having eaten that quantity, he found himself well enough the next morning to go to court. The gout returned the *third* year (but in a much slighter degree than before), and was again cured by strawberries; and on its access the *fourth* and *fifth* times, at the same season in the succeeding years, the same occurrences took place, and they were remedied by the same means. The attacks gradually became less violent; and, by persevering in the use of this fruit every summer, they did not recur at all for nearly twenty years: indeed we do not find that Linnæus experienced a return of gout even *after* that interval.—It is no wonder, therefore, that the writer of this dissertation pronounces strawberries preferable to any medicine hitherto discovered, for the cure of arthritic disorders.

'Two cases are mentioned, showing that, wholesome as strawberries are universally considered, they will notwithstanding act as a *poison* on some persons. They occasioned *syncope*, succeeded by a petechial efflorescence on the skin.' p. 478—480.

With respect to the propriety of suppressing the tables and notes, annexed to the *Pan Suevus*, in the first edition, we must be allowed to entertain our doubts. Dr Maton's apology bespeaks his modesty; but ought it to be admitted? He tells us they are omitted, because 'they would have required more numerous additions and corrections, to render them suited to the existing state of agriculture and rural economy, than the editor's knowledge of those branches qualified him to undertake.' Yet, surely, it would have been better to have retained them in their unaltered form, than wholly to expunge them; or, perhaps, some friend, conversant in the details of husbandry, might have furnished the suitable amendments. The account of the *Hortus Cliffortianus*, and of some other works, is still too meagre and scanty, to convey adequate notions of their contents and merits. We are indeed aware, that the handsome size to which the volume has already attained, may be alleged as an objection to all the additional matters which we have taken the liberty to suggest; and, to speak plainly, we believe, with the Greeks of old, that a great book is a great evil: but a very inconsiderable reduction in the typography, and the omission of a long catalogue of the generic

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neric names of plants, (mere names without definitions), would have left room for the proposed insertions, without marring the shape and proportions of the volume.

Dr Maton laments that we have no view of the systems of botanists subsequent to Linnæus; but if our recollection be accurate, some such view may be found in Mouton-Fontenille's *Tableaux des Systêmes Généraux et Particuliers de Botanique.* Some notices may likewise be collected from Gerardin's *Tableau Elémentaire de Botanique;* and the improved arrangements of De Jussieu's Natural Orders have been lately illustrated in four volumes octavo, by Jaumont St Hilaire.

Having stated, without reserve, the few strictures to which the present publication seems to be liable, we may venture to assert, that its merits greatly outweigh its defects; that it manifests candour, judgment, and diligence; and that it may be safely resorted to, as the most commodious and accurate *catalogue raisonné* of the Linnean writings which has hitherto appeared.

To satisfy our readers of the authenticity of the extraordinary morsel of biography annexed under the title of the Diary of Linnæus, we shall employ the editor's own words.

'At the latter end of the year 1799, M. Fredenheim, son of Dr Mennander, Archbishop of Upsala, conveyed (on certain conditions) to Robert Gordon, Esq. merchant at Cadiz, a variety of manuscripts to be printed in England. In consequence of the death of Mr Gordon, however, the publication did not take place in the manner intended; and the manuscripts, devolving to that gentleman's executors, were disposed of by them to the publisher of this volume, but not without the heirs of M. Fredenheim having been duly acquainted with all the circumstances of the transaction. Besides a considerable number of letters, written with Linnæus's own hand, to Dr Mennander, and some other papers, there is a folio manuscript book, containing about 80 pages, in the Swedish language, and entitled, "*Vita Caroli Linnæi,*" &c. M. Fredenheim's coat of arms is affixed to the inside of the cover; and on the page opposite to the first part of the Diary is a note, of which the following is a translation, viz.

"Right Reverend Bishop,

"The messenger will not wait until I have time to write. Be so good as to erase, alter, and add, *pro tua sapientia.*"

'This note is explained by the following memorandum, found among the papers just alluded to.

"On the 22d of January 1770, the Archiater von Linné sent from Upsala his *Curriculum Vitæ* (in a very circumstantial form, and continued by him up to that time) to Bishop Mennander, who was then at the Diet, at Stockholm, with the following short *vehiculum* written on the very document [*See above.*] This Life, which is further mentioned in the letters of the 29th of January, 1762, 30th of October, and

19th

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19th of November, 1769, and 24th of January 1770, therein copied, and also separately preserved, together with a Latin translation (not completed) by my late father, and the genealogy of the family of Linné, made by the governor of the province, Baron Tilas, was dictated with all the ingenuous simplicity of Linné, and in some places interlined and corrected by himself. It is certainly the only life of him wholly composed by himself, and of course the most interesting and worthy to be published of all the other papers, among which are fifty-five letters to his most intimate friend from youth, who was fortunate enough to have chiefly contributed, if not towards rewarding this great man, at least towards encouraging him."

'The passages in the letters, referred to in this memorandum, are copied in the same handwriting (viz. that of M. Fredenheim) at the head of the Diary, and are to the following purport.

"I have here drawn up my own panegyric, and found that *propria laus sordet*. I should never have shown it to any body in the world, if not to the only one of all my friends, who has been unalterably such, from times when I was in less advantageous circumstances. If you should be pleased to extract any thing from it, my dear friend, it would attract notice, when coming from such a pen as yours. I am quite ashamed to lay it before you, and should never have done so, had I not been convinced of your friendship and uniform sincerity.——*Upsala, Jan.* 29. 1762."

'(It would appear from this extract, that Linnæus had sent his memoirs to the Archbishop in the year 1762; but, if we may judge from a passage in another letter, quoted below, the Archbishop did not actually receive them until the 22d of January, 1770.)

"My principal object in wishing to see you at Stockholm, my dear friend, was to beg of you, who have shown the most sincere and constant friendship for me, to take the trouble (when you are at leisure) of writing, in Latin, my insignificant memoirs, which ought to be delivered to the French Academy, as I am *Ordinarius Extraneus Professor*; and, since age and attendant circumstances admonish me *colligere sarcinas*, the sooner this is done the better.——*Upsala, Oct.* 30. 1769."

"I cannot mention my personal merits without some preface; for *propria laus sordet*, and self-love will here and there show itself.——*Upsala, Nov.* 19. 1769."

"The day before yesterday I sent, by a peasant, my *Curriculum Vitæ*, under cover to Archiater Bäck. If he should not have already transmitted it to you, you will recollect that Archiater Bäck lives opposite the cannon-foundery yard, or the gate of it.

"If, when you return home, you should have time, be so good as to think of me. It was written at various intervals, and, of course, with various degrees of attention. Pray alter the shape of it in any way you please, as it is intended only to state facts. This will be the last service that can be rendered to me, who now see people of my time of life dropping on all sides. *Ego infelix socius resto.*—*Jan.* 24. 1770."

'These

'These passages explain all the circumstances connected with Linnæus's Diary, and cannot require any comment.

'The Archbishop's Latin translation extends no further than the year 1730, a period having been put to his undertaking by death. The English translation, published at the end of this volume, was made by Mr Troilius, a Swedish gentleman (now residing in London), of the same family with the late Archbishop von Troil, the well-known author of the *Letters on Iceland*. Both the style and the arrangement of the original are adhered to as closely as possible; and the Latin passages are given *verbatim*, in order that there might be no further deviation from Linnæus's own expressions than was absolutely requisite.

'Through the greater part of the Swedish manuscript, the handwriting is Dr Lindwall's, who was a pupil of Linnæus; but different hands are discoverable, and the materials appear to have been put together with very different degrees of attention. The writing is in some places difficult to be decyphered; in others the sense is obscure; and there is often (as the reader will observe) an abrupt transition, in the construction, from the third person to the first.

'The earliest letter in the collection is dated "*Upsala* 1734," and bears the following superscription, viz. *A Monsieur M. Charles Friedric Menander, Etudiant en Philosophie et Histoire Naturelle à Stockholm.*" The last letter is dated "*Upsala, Nov.* 8. 1775." In this interval, Linnæus's correspondent became Professor of Philosophy at Abo, afterwards Bishop of that city, and lastly Archbishop, and Pro-Chancellor of the University of Upsala. He appears to have been a very warm and affectionate friend, and to have assisted Linnæus on various occasions essentially affecting his interests.' Pref. p. x.—xv.

It would greatly exceed our limits to dwell minutely on this curious document. As a register of dates and occurrences, it may form the basis of some future life of the author; but it abounds more in facts, than in traits of genius or philosophical reflections; and, if we could fairly judge of the style through the medium of a literal translation, we should not hesitate to pronounce it singularly clumsy and repulsive. The principal events in the author's life are first marshalled in chronological array, and are then more circumstantially related. He next recapitulates his lucubrations and discoveries in medicine, botany, zoology, lithology, the characteristics of his person, the stations and honours to which he was raised, the numerous learned societies of which he was a member, the titles of his writings, the flattering testimonies of authors, and the names of his pupils. In every page, the writer is the unblushing herald of his own praise, till at length he becomes quite disgusting, and convinces us of the melancholy truth, that his vanity at least kept pace with his science. His admirers may no doubt remind us, that he only records simple truths; and, in most instances, only deduces from them

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such opinions as have been sanctioned by the suffrage of the public. The ancients, it may likewise be said, are authorities for this sort of sincerity. All this may be very true; but we feel that Cicero and Linnæus would have appeared with greater dignity if they had boasted less of their own deserts; and with regard to the latter in particular, we cannot help remarking, that the pursuits of the naturalist, which daily and hourly teach us how little we really know, and the insignificance of individual existence in the system of things, are eminently calculated to inspire us with humility.

In justice, however, to the celebrated Swede, it behoves us to remark, that he has not veiled the less brilliant parts of his subject, and that he states the circumstances of his poverty, and his susceptibility of irritation, with the same plainness that he commemorates the most flattering instances of royal favour. Even his large head and carious teeth are duly entered on record; and we are not allowed to be ignorant, that he had an obliterated wart on the right cheek, and another on the right side of the nose.

The occasional blending of Latin phraseology, or of learned and professional allusions, imparts a motley and pedantic aspect to the whole production. The following particulars, however, are interesting.

"Carl Linnæus was brought into the world between the hours of 12 and 1 in the night dividing the $\frac{1}{11}$d and $\frac{1}{12}$d of May 1707,—a delightful season of the year, in the *Calendar of Flora*, being between the months of *frondescence* and *florescence*. His parents received their first-born with joy, and devoted the greatest attention to impressing on his mind the love of virtue, both in precept and example. The same thing that is said of a poet, "*Nascitur non fit*," may be said without impropriety of our botanist. From the very time that he first left his cradle, he almost lived in his father's garden, which was planted with some of the rarer shrubs and flowers; and thus were kindled, before he was well out of his mother's arms, those sparks which shone so vividly all his lifetime, and latterly burst into such a flame. But his bent was first decidedly displayed on the following occasion. He was scarcely four years old when he accompanied his father to a feast at *Möhlen*, and in the evening, it being a very pleasant season of the year, the guests seated themselves on some flowery turf, listening to the pastor, who made various remarks on the names and properties of the plants, showing them the roots of the *Succisa*, *Tormentilla*, *Orchides*, &c. The child paid the most uninterrupted attention to all he saw and heard, and from that hour never ceased harassing his father with questions about the name, qualities, and nature of every plant he met with; indeed, he very often asked more than his father was able to answer; but, like other children, he used immediately to forget what he had learned, and especially

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especially the *names* of plants. Hence the father was sometimes put out of humour, and refused to answer him, unless he would promise to remember what was told him. Nor had this harshness any bad effect, for he afterwards retained with ease whatever he heard. All the child's powers, both of mind and body, conspired to make him an excellent natural historian;—besides his retentiveness of memory, he had an astonishing quickness of sight.' p. 512, 513.

When a student at the university of Upsala, he informs us, that 'he was obliged to trust to chance for a meal; and, in the article of dress, was driven to such shifts that he was obliged, when his shoes required mending, to patch them with folded paper instead of sending them to the cobler.'

Of his *Systema Naturæ*, he says it is 'a work to which natural history has never had a fellow.'—'In the year 1765, he worked at the 12th or last edition of the *Systema Naturæ*, and, the whole of the autumn, on the *Clavis Medicinæ*, which would have employed the most learned men for an age.'—'GENERA MORBORUM have not been so clearly defined by any one; there is not a single word in them that is not useful; his work on this subject is an excellent compend for a *tyro*.'

Are our masters of the healing art sufficiently grateful to Carl Von Linné for the following luminous improvements and discoveries?

'PATHOLOGY, the foundation of the whole medical art, and of all medical theory, has been more improved by *Linnæus*, in his *Clavis Medicinæ* of eight pages (which is a masterpiece in its way, and one of the greatest treasures in medicine), than by a hundred authors and books in folio.

'The *mechanical* physicians indeed had shown, that the action of the *Sapida* consists in *relaxing* or *constringing*, according to the nature of their taste; but neither the *species saporis*, nor their contraries, were explained,—much less the nature of the *Olida*. *Linné* was the first who saw that nature is balanced by contraries, and acted upon *numero quinario*. He saw that the Creator had given to animals two senses, viz. taste and smell.

'That the *Sapida* act only on the fluids and solids, or on the fibres.

'That the *Odora* act only on the brain and nerves.

'He found that *Vitia Corporea*, as well in the fluids as the solids, are only *five* in number.

'That the *Vitia Encephali*, vel *Systematis Nervosi*, are likewise *five*, each with the same number of contraries.

'He likewise found that the *Sapida* and *Odora* are also *five*, with as many contraries; and that the right indication results from a comparison of contraries with contraries. He proved this by examples. What can be stronger?'

This *quintessence* of recondite knowledge is too strong, we are afraid, for the understanding of ordinary mortals; but '*the Lord was with*' our knight of the polar star 'whithersoever *he* walked,'

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and not only 'preserved him from fire, but led him with his own Almighty hand,' and 'permitted him to visit his secret council-chambers.' After this, we cannot wonder to find this illustrious person testifying of himself, that 'no person ever had a more solid knowledge of the three kingdoms of nature; so completely reformed a whole science, and created therein a new æra; became so celebrated all over the world; or sowed in any academical garden so many seeds!'

ART. XV. *An Account of a Journey in Africa, made in the Years 1801 & 1802, to the Residence of the Booshuana Nation, being the remotest Point in the Interior of Southern Africa, to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated. The Facts and Descriptions taken from a Manuscript Journal; with a Chart of the Route.* From Voyage to Cochin-China. By John Barrow Esq. F.R.S. London. Cadell, 1806.

In reviewing Mr Barrow's second volume upon Africa, in our eighth Number, we met with an allusion to the expedition of Messrs Trutter and Somerville; and, from the specimen given of their journal, we were inclined to think that the public sustained a considerable injury by its being withheld from the press. Mr Barrow, into whose hands the papers of those travellers were delivered, has very laudably supplied this defect; and, though he has not published the journals entire, he has given so full an account of their contents, as leaves us no room for desiring to see any more of them. This abstract he inserts (one does not exactly see why) in a large volume lately published by him, on the subject of Cochin-China, which we reserve for a future article. As a supplement to the discoveries in Africa, which we have had occasion to notice since the commencement of our labours, we shall here give our readers some account of this tract. It furnishes but few occasions for discussion or remark; but some of the facts which it contains, and some inferences to which these give rise, are deserving of our best attention.

This journey was undertaken by Mr Trutter, a member of the Cape judicature, and Mr Somerville, the garrison surgeon, by the orders of the Governor, in order to discover whether any of the Hottentot tribes in the interior had a sufficient stock of cattle to furnish a supply to the colony, rendered necessary in consequence of the sickness and drought of the preceding season. They were accompanied by a draughtsman, secretary, and several Dutch boors,

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boors, making in all twelve Christians, and were attended by twenty-four Hottentots and four slaves. They left the Cape in October 1801, and pursued a north-easterly direction, towards the country of the Bosjesmans. Of these wretched people they now and then met a few stragglers, always in a state of the utmost want, and begging a little supply of food to keep them from starving. They appear to be altogether the most miserable nation of which we have any account, not exceeded in penury even by the natives of Chili, whose sufferings from hunger are so picturesquely described by Biron in his voyage. Through this unhappy tract of desert the commissioners proceeded towards the Orange river. Their route was of course marked with but few incidents. But travellers through the sands of Africa usually do like geographers; and, for want of towns, are obliged to introduce wild beasts. Accordingly, our author breaks the dullness of his journey, by frequent anecdotes of the lions and elephants who inhabit those districts, and of the adventures which the neighbouring colonists have at different times had with these fellow-occupants of the deserts. From time to time, too, some Dutch settlers were seen, wandering as they often do from place to place, without any fixed habitation. The following description of this class of colonists deserves to be extracted.

'In the midst of so extensive and dreary a desert, they' (the travellers) 'were not a little surprised, though by no means an unusual thing, to meet with a Dutch boor of the name of Kok, who, with a waggon and his whole family, his slaves, his Hottentots, his cattle and his sheep, was travelling leisurely from the Orange river towards the skirts of the colony. The disinclination of these people to establish themselves on a particular spot, and to live in any sort of comfort, is very remarkable, and can only be explained on the principle of an irresistible charm which unbounded liberty and unrestrained possession exert on the human mind, and which operates most powerfully on him who has never known the pleasures of social life. It is a well known fact, that numbers of the French officers in America, led by the impulse of this principle, retired into the Indian settlements, threw aside their clothing, painted and tatooed their bodies, and became in every respect savages of a much worse description than the natives, by uniting with their new condition all the vices of civilized life. To rove about the desert wilds of Africa, to harass and destroy the harmless natives, to feast on game procured by their Hottentots, and to sleep and loiter away the day while jolting in his waggon, are to the Dutch boor among the most exquisite pleasures he is capable of enjoying. By indolence and gluttony, from the effects of a good climate, and free exposure to air, these people usually grow to a monstrous size; and if suffered to continue their present uncontrouled mode of life, they may ultimately give birth to a race of Patagonians

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on the southern extremity of Africa, not inferior in stature to their tall brethren on the opposite coast of America.' p. 369.

On arriving at the Orange river, which is extremely large for such a course, being the union of two branches, each six hundred yards wide, the travellers found on the opposite bank the Kora country, tolerably well peopled by a race of Hottentots, happy and rich in comparison with those Bosjesmans whom they had seen in crossing the desert. They had a stationary abode on the banks of the river, and were much less filthy than the rest of their race nearer the Cape, having, from the abundance of water, as Mr Barrow conjectures, no occasion to smear themselves like the rest of their countrymen in the desert. Their features, too, were better; their activity and ingenuity greater. They lived entirely on the produce of their flocks, and on wild berries, &c. having no vestiges of agriculture. The few metallic ornaments and utensils which they possess, were borrowed from the Caffres.

In pursuing their journey through the Kora country, the Commissioners met with several missionaries, particularly Mr Edwards and his family, and Mr Kicherer, sent out by the London Society. It does not appear, from the account of the missionaries themselves, that their laudable zeal, and pious labours, are likely soon to gain an exceeding great reward. They are preaching the most abstruse mysteries of our holy religion, to tribes of savages who can scarcely count ten; and inculcating a care of their immortal souls, to miserable creatures, who, with all their labour, can scarcely find subsistence for their bodies. The order of Providence clearly recommends, that those children of penury should first get into easier circumstances, and then be made converts to religious tenets. In this part of Africa, the knowledge of the Deity's existence is either not to be met with, or, if found at all, is so obscure, and so much disfigured by brutal ignorance, as not to be easily recognized. And these are the people whom our missionaries, at a great misplaced expense, and with a most mistaken zeal, are endeavouring to make Christians; to persuade of the sublimest truths which the intellect of man can apprehend; to convince of the most refined doctrines, which the most enlightened understanding can receive. The account which these worthy men themselves give of their flock, is, indeed, a melancholy picture of the misapplication of their means and their zeal; and a convincing proof that, until the worldly comforts of the native Africans are somewhat extended, until their necessary wants, at least, are in some degree supplied, he shall labour in vain who tends their spiritual concerns, and shall throw away good seed among stones, and in dry places. The wretched state of manners and feelings, which

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which the following paſſage deſcribes, is clearly the reſult of exceſſive poverty, and proves, that the perſon who plants a colony in theſe countries, or introduces, by ſome other means, the arts which are ſubſervient to common life, in its ſimpleſt forms, is the only miſſionary whoſe pains can ever be rewarded by the eventual converſion of the African tribes to the true religion.

"They take no great care of their children," says Mr Kicherer, "and never correct them, except in a fit of rage, when they almoſt kill them by ſevere uſage. In a quarrel between father and mother, or the ſeveral wives of a huſband, the defeated party wreaks his or her vengeance on the child of the conqueror, which in general loſes its life. The Boſjesmans will kill their children without remorſe, on various occaſions; as when they are ill-ſhaped, when they are in want of food, when the father of a child has forſaken its mother, or when obliged to fly from the boors or others; in which caſe, they will ſtrangle them, ſmother them, caſt them away in the deſert, or bury them alive. There are inſtances of parents throwing their tender offſpring to the hungry lion, who ſtands roaring before their cavern, refuſing to depart till ſome peace-offering be made to him. They alſo frequently forſake their aged relations, leaving the old perſon with a piece of meat, and an oſtrich egg-ſhell full of water: as ſoon as this little ſtock is exhauſted, the poor deſerted creature muſt periſh by hunger, or become the prey of wild beaſts. Many of theſe wild Hottentots live by plunder and murder, and are guilty of the moſt horrid and atrocious actions. Such," ſays he, "are the people, to whom the providence of God has directed our courſe." p. 378–9.

We ſhould really pity the ignorance and the bigotry of any perſon, who, on reading this affecting paſſage, might be diſpoſed to impute the wretched character here deſcribed, to any other cauſe than poverty and hardſhip; or to ſuggeſt, as a remedy, the introduction of a ſyſtem of faith, or indeed any plan, but one which ſhould tend to alleviate the phyſical wants of thoſe unhappy ſavages. We cannot refrain from extracting the following very judicious and ſenſible remarks of Mr Barrow, himſelf well acquainted with the ſubject from perſonal obſervation. They contain a further deſcription of the flock, upon whoſe ſpiritual welfare our miſſionary ſocieties are ſquandering their zeal, and laviſhing their funds; and they ſtrengthen, very ſignally, the preceding remarks upon theſe very pious and diſintereſted aſſociations.

'Setting aside the sheer nonsense of the lion roaring before the cavern, which the easy credulity of Mr Kicherer led him to believe as a fact, it is evident, on the face of the above statement, that the chief, and perhaps the sole, motive for destroying or abandoning the helpless and the destitute, the infants and the aged, is their extreme indigence.

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Without any covering to protect his body from the vicissitudes of the weather, without possessions or property of any kind, except his bow and his quiver of arrows, the Bosjesman exists from day to day on what the fortune of the chase may throw within his reach, on a few bulbous roots which the barren soil scantily supplies, on the eggs of ants and the laryæ of locusts; and, when these all fail, he is glad to have recourse to toads, mice, snakes, and lizards. To satisfy the present craving of the stomach is his grand object; and, this accomplished in its fullest extent, he seems to enjoy a short-lived species of happines, which either shows itself in an exhilaration of spirits not unlike that which usually attends the first stage of intoxication, or throws him into a profound sleep. Among such a people, it is not surprising that infants and aged persons should be left to perish. If the dread of pinching poverty, and the horrors of absolute want, are sufficient to urge the civilized Chinese to the commission of infanticide on their own offspring, it is the less surprising that a similar, or a still mere hopeless condition, should operate similar effects on the savage Bosjesman. Human nature is every where the same. When the Moravian missionaries first landed in Labrador, the same inhuman practice, though with the most benevolent intention, prevailed among the natives, of putting to death the widows and the orphans; not because it was an ancient custom, or that the shedding of human blood was agreeable to their nature, but for a much stronger reason: improvident of their own families, they could not be supposed to supply the means of support for the helpless orphan, or the desolate widow of another. And here the superior advantages resulting from the system of the Moravians, over that of the Gospel missionaries, are most forcibly demonstrated. Instead of encouraging the natives in their rambling disposition from place to place, they laboured to fix them to one spot; instead of preaching to them the mysterious parts of the gospel, they instructed them in useful and industrious habits; instead of building a church, they erected a storehouse. They caused this common store to be divided into as many compartments as there were families, leaving one at each end larger than the rest, to be appropriated solely to the use of the widows and the orphans; and having taught them the process of salting and drying the fish caught in vast multitudes in the summer months, the produce was collected into this general depository of their industry, to serve as a provision for the long and dismal winter which reigns in this inclement climate; deducting, however, from the compartment of every family a tenth of the produce, to be deposited in those of the widows and orphans. Their labours were crowned with complete success. From this time, a provision was made sufficient for the preservation of these desolate and helpless creatures. Thus the Moravian Society has been the means of converting the inhabitants of Labrador into useful citizens, as well as good Christians, whilst the African Society has not reclaimed a single Bosjesman from the wild and savage state in which its zealous missionaries first discovered him.' p. 379—381.

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The example of the Moravians, here cited, is very aptly introduced. The labours of that excellent and ingenious sect, are indeed deserving of the highest praise. They have, more than any other proselytizing institution or division of Christians, united wisdom with their pious earnestness to convert the heathen. They have not been so much occupied with contemplating the greatness of their object, as to neglect the only rational means of attaining it. They have practised upon the souls of their pagan flocks, by improving their worldly condition, and have dispensed, along with their preaching, the improvements of the present life, without which men never will prepare for a life to come.

From the Kora country the travellers proceeded in a north-easterly direction to that of the Booshuanas, or Bricquas, as some neighbouring tribes call them. The first thing which struck them on entering this district, was the great fertility of the soil; its abundance in various useful vegetables, and in good springs of water; and the plenty of game which it contained. They arrived at Leetakoo the capital, where the King resides, and were received by him with every token of hospitality and kindness. That city lies in latitude 26° 30′ south, and longitude 27° east; contains about 2500 houses, and upwards of 12,000 inhabitants. The houses are disposed without regularity; each is built in a circular form, and surrounded with a palisade; contains several apartments for the different branches of the family, who live separately; and is thatched very well, and not inelegantly, with reeds. For the sake of shade, the houses are generally built under large mimosas, the leaves and twigs of which are carefully portected from every injury. They live much on animal food, procured by hunting; on the milk of their cattle; and cultivate also a good deal of grain. In this work, the chief part, if not the whole, seems to devolve on the women. The men occupy themselves in the chase, in preparing skins for clothing, and in the care of the dairy of the tame cattle. The degree of civilization to which this nation has attained, may best be estimated from the following account of their comforts and luxuries.

'But the *Booshuanas* are arrived at that ſtage of civilization, which is not ſatisfied with the mere neceſſaries of life ſupplied to them abundantly from the three ſources of agriculture, grazing, and hunting; they are by no means inſenſible of its conveniences and its luxuries. Their ſkin cloaks for the winter are pliant, ſoft and warm, being frequently lined with the fur-ſkins of tyger-cats, *viverras*, and other ſmall animals; and when in ſummer they go without clothing, they rarely expoſe their bodies to the rays of the ſun, but carry umbrellas made of the broad feathers of the oſtrich fixed to the end of a ſtick. They vary their mode of

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of dreſſing both animal food and grain; occaſionally boiling, broiling, or roaſting the former, and ſimply broiling the latter; or bruiſing it into flour, and boiling it up with milk. Among the luxuries of the appetite, tobacco ſeems to hold the higheſt eſtimation. Both men and women are paſſionately fond of drawing the ſmoke of this narcotic herb through water, poured uſually into the horn of the cow or the *eland*, through the ſide of which the tube of the tobacco-pipe is inſerted. Of ſnuff they are equally fond. This article is compoſed of a variety of ſtimulant plants, dried and rubbed into duſt, which is uſually mixed with wood aſhes; of this mixture they take a quantity in the palm of the hand, and draw it into the noſtrils through a quill or reed, till the tears trickle down their cheeks. Children even of four or five years of age may be obſerved taking ſnuff in this manner. Their bodies they carefuly ornament with devices painted with white pipe-clay and red ochre; their hair they ſometimes cut in a peculiar manner, leaving a high tuft on the crown of the head, not unlike the faſhionable crops of the preſent day, to which is frequently appended the tail of a hare, or a diſtended bladder of this or ſome other ſmall animal; or the wings of the Numidian crane are fixed erect on each ſide of the head. A triangular plate of copper is almoſt invariably ſuſpended from one ear, and the teeth and the claws of lions and leopards are worn as necklaces. To theſe ſpoils of the chaſe, the men add rings of ivory, cut from the elephant's tuſk, round the upper part of the arm; and the women uſe thongs of leather, ſometimes plain, and ſometimes decorated with beads and bits of copper, round the legs and arms. Every man had a knife ſlung about the neck by a leather thong, and fitted into a ſcabbard. The blade is generally about ſix inches long, an inch broad, rounded at the end, and brought to an edge on each ſide; the handle ſometimes of wood, and ſometimes of ivory; in the latter caſe, it is uſually carved into the ſhape of the elephant's proboſcis. The party had with them a quantity of common knives intended for barter, but the *Booshuanas* held them very cheap, obſerving that their own were at leaſt twice as good, becauſe they were made to cut with two edges, whereas thoſe of the white people only cut with one. The knife, in fact, is ſo uſeful an inſtrument to ſuch as live by the chaſe and on roots, that it may almoſt be conſidered as an article of the firſt neceſſity, and is valued accordingly. A *Booshuana* is accounted wealthy according to the number of cattle, knives, and beads he may poſſeſs: theſe are the money and the currency of *Leetakoo*.'—p. 395, 396.

The government is of a patriarchal kind, the chief or king ruling by his perſonal authority with the tribe. He names his ſucceſſor, and, on occaſions of moment, conſults the elders, who give him their own ſentiments, and communicate to him thoſe of the people. It appears that they have no ſyſtem of religious inſtitution, no form of public worſhip; and ſcarcely any notions of religion appear to have been traced among them. We are indeed told,

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told, that they circumcise their male children, and dance in a circle the whole night of the new moon; and these practices are imputed to some religious motives, though we cannot discover for what reasons. Mr Barrow, in this interesting part of his abridgement, forsakes the subject; and, instead of telling us precisely what facts the commissioners' journal records, he gets into a declamation about thunder showers, good and evil spirits, Jupiter, &c. with his usual love of fine writing, and his usual inability to write well. All his sentences on this topic are of a vague, sermonizing species, and bear no reference to the matter in hand. Indeed, were we to give our author a general advice for his government, in the great number of books which he writes, it should be, to curb his soaring genius; to keep himself a little more common, on common occasions; to learn, that true sense is shown by him who does ordinary things in an ordinary way: and we should moreover insinuate, that his own flights are not only misplaced, but clumsy.

It is impossible to contemplate the picture of high comparative civilization which these accounts present to us of the Booshuana nation, without remarking how important a confirmation is derived from it, to all the enlightened and benevolent views of our best statesmen, regarding the present condition and future improvement of Africa. As we approach the interior, it would appear, of that vast continent, and leave the spots most favourable to civilization and improvement, we gradually come among tribes more refined and happy than those who inhabit the maritime districts. In other countries, the sea-coast is the scene of cultivation and wealth; it is the region of manners, of sciences, of arts. In Africa alone, the coast lies under a curse; it is covered with darkness, and a prey to disorder and wretchedness. Commerce, the great refiner and improver of other nations, is known to the tribes of the African continent only as the consummation of all evil—the great engine of barbarism—the arch enemy of man. To see him in his natural state, you must seek the places least favourable to his existence; you must leave the coast of the sea, and the banks of rivers, and traverse sandy wastes, which the enterprize of commercial avarice has never passed. In those deserts, you find, at vast distances from the abodes of other nations, and protected, by the surrounding sands, from the noxious intercourse of Europeans, spots of country made fertile by the industry of Africans—'islands in the stormy waste,' inhabited by a people, innocent when we cannot reach them to corrupt their morals—and happy, at such a distance as protects them from our violence and craft. Let it never be forgotten, that whether you penetrate into those remote countries from the western or the southern coast; whether

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whether you trace the negro or the Hottentot race through their various gradations, you constantly find both in the enjoyment of more felicity, and the practice of more virtue, in proportion as you recede from those places where they are subjected to communication with the European colonists and traders, to the horrors of the slave trade, and the brutal oppressions of the Cape settlers. These observations derive considerable illustration from the very judicious statements of Mr Barrow on the subject, contained in the following passages, which we extract the more willingly, because they do him much more credit for liberality than many of his general reflections are wont to do.

'To know that such societies exist in this miserable quarter of the globe, as those above described, must be peculiarly interesting to those who have long been exerting their eloquence and their influence to meliorate the condition of the suffering African. They furnish a complete refutation of an opinion that has industriously been inculcated, and which unfortunately is but too prevalent, that slavery is his unalterable lot, and that it would still exist, as it always had existed, were Europeans to discontinue their abominable traffic in these unhappy creatures. Such an opinion, in justification of a crime against humanity, is just on a level with that of a Dutch boor, who told Governor Jansen, on remonstrating with him on his cruelty towards the Hottentots, that there could be no harm in maltreating those heathens, as the women evidently carried about with them the mark which God set upon Cain. Not one of the tribes of natives between the Cape of Good Hope and the extreme point that has hitherto been discovered in the interior of Southern Africa—not a single creature, from the needy and savage Bosjesman to the more civilized *Booshuana*, has the most distant idea of a state of slavery. On the contrary, they have all been found in the full enjoyment of unbounded freedom. There is no compulsion used among these people, to oblige an individual to remain even in the horde to which he belongs, contrary to his inclination; being always at liberty to depart with his property, and join another society that may suit him better. Even n war, the only booty is the cattle of the enemy.

'How far to the northward the country continues to be inhabited by free Kaffer tribes, remains yet to be determined; but the extent, it is to be feared, is not very great. It appears that the Portugueze slave-merchants have at length effected a communication across the continent, from Mosambique to their settlements of Congo and Loango on the opposite coast; from which it may be inferred, that the line of slavery extends at least as far to the southward as the twentieth degree on the eastern, and to the fifteenth or sixteenth on the western coast. It is probable, however, that, in the central parts of Southern Africa, the land of freedom may stretch much beyond the parallels where slavery prevails on the coast. The *Barroloos*, from the above account, cannot be placed to the southward of the tropic of Capricorn; and it is not very probable that a nation having made such progress as they are represented

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represented to have done, should border immediately on a nation of slaves. Thus, though Soffala, Mosambique, Quiloa, and Melinda, on the eastern coast, and Congo, Loango, Benguela, and Angola, on the western, have long been doomed to all the evils and horrors of slavery, yet it is possible that the *Biri* and *Baroras* of the charts, in the heart of the continent, may be a continuation of the same free and happy people as the *Booshuanas* and *Barroloos*, the former of whom extend easterly even to the bay of De la Goa, where the Portugueze have in vain endeavoured to introduce among them a traffic in slaves. Luckily for the Kaffer nation, neither the Portugueze on one side, nor the Cape boors on the other, have yet been able to convince them, that one set of men were created to be sold like cattle for the pleasure and the profit of another.' p. 405–6.

After residing some time at Leetakoo the capital, the commissioners made a tour through several districts of the Booshuana country, and visited a number of other towns. Every where they found the same orderly, innocent, and happy people. But it is very much to be lamented, that they suffered themselves to be deterred from proceeding into the country of the Barroloos, lying to the north of the Booshuanas. This they very imprudently, we had almost said thoughtlessly desisted from, in consequence of certain representations of the King of Leetakoo, who appears to have prevented their journey from motives of policy. Afterwards, when it was too late to return, they found that he had imposed on their credulity,—that the Barroloos were the best disposed and most hospitable of all the African tribes,—much more numerous and civilized than the Booshuanas,—more wealthy and ingenious. They were said to have made no small progress in the arts,—to have furnaces for smelting copper and iron, —to be skilful in carving ivory and hard woods,—to have one city so large that it was a day's journey to walk through it. The commissioners were very much to blame, when, within two day's march of so interesting a country, they stopt short on account of the King of the Booshuanas telling them some stories, under circumstances which, even to themselves, must have given the whole a very suspicious appearance (See p. 400.) Men who suffer themselves so easily to be taken in or intimidated, are not made of the stuff of which travellers should be moulded, who undertake to explore unknown countries. And Messrs Trutter and Somerville were the more culpable on this occasion, that they not only were called upon to push as far as possible our knowledge of those new tribes, but bore a commission from the government to effect a certain purpose, subservient to the public interest. Their imprudent conduct not only frustrated the just curiosity of their countrymen, but rendered nearly abortive the whole object of their expedition.

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idle. They had no success at all. They preached the gospel to men already satisfied with their spiritual condition, and only anxious for food and raiment;—they despised, and intolerably cried down all the notions held sacred by a people as prejudiced and bigotted as themselves;—they recommended sobriety as a religious duty, to men whose former faith did not prohibit the use of strong liquors, and whose tastes all pointed to bodily intoxication, as a greater blessing than the holy raptures of their new instructors. Thus the missionaries always quarrelled with their flocks, and made but few converts; nor, among these, produced any real improvement.

The instruction of the Indians in schools, among the Europeans settled at the great towns, was another method which was adopted with the same view, and with no better success. After receiving, in part the education, and in whole the vices of civilized life, those pupils returned to their naked and hunting brethren, from corruption the most profligate, and from necessity the most idle, members of the Indian community. They found a society in the woods, to which they originally belonged by blood, but for the manners and pursuits of which they had been altogether incapacitated by education. We need go no further to illustrate the absurdity of this plan of inoculating the Indian tribes with civilization, than the remarks of a person in this predicament. He had been educated at Princetown; and, upon being asked by an American commandant in the neighbourhood of his tribe, why his countrymen continued so perversely addicted to a savage life, he replied, 'It is natural that we should follow the footsteps of our forefathers; and when you white people undertake to divert us from this path, you teach us to eat, drink, dress, and write like yourselves, and then turn us loose, to beg, starve, or seek our native forests, without alternative; and, outlawed from your society, we curse you for the feelings you have taught us, and resort to excess, that we may forget them.'

Such having been the necessary consequences of the feeble and ill-planned attempts, both of Government and other societies, to civilize the Indians, we had begun to despair of ever seeing this laudable undertaking prosper. Men seemed resolved (as appears from the foregoing statement, which we have prefixed to the present article, as a proper introduction) to begin at the wrong end, and to neglect the only plain and simple method by which those savage tribes ever can be reclaimed from their barbarism, or made the partakers, and not the victims, of the civilization that surrounds them. Happily our fears have proved groundless. The people called Quakers, a society, in many respects, by

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far the moſt meritorious and amiable among our religious ſects, ſeems to have ſolved the problem; and, by a cloſe attention to the principles above ſketched out and alluded to in a former article, (*Barrow's Account of a Journey in Africa*) they appear to have laid a very ſolid foundation for the rapid civilization of thoſe unhappy natives. The little tract now before us, contains a plain, unvarniſhed detail of their benevolent and moſt judicious proceedings. It was printed originally in Philadelphia, and is now reprinted in London. We truſt it will meet with due attention, as it is, in fact, one of the moſt intereſting publications which has appeared of late years. We ſhall now preſent our readers with a ſhort account of what the Quakers have done. The ſcene of their operations was among the Indians of the Five Nations, who inhabit a tract of country about 300 miles north-weſt from Philadelphia; and of theſe nations, the experiments now to be deſcribed, were performed on the Oneidas and Senecas.

The Quakers appear to have proceeded upon the fundamental aſſumption, that the only means of civilizing thoſe tribes, and indeed of preſerving their exiſtence, muſt be ſought in a well planned attempt to reclaim them from the precarious and idle life of hunters. For this purpoſe, they conceived that the ſettlement of a few miſſionaries among them was abſolutely neceſſary. But the miſſionaries whom they choſe, were not preachers; they were artizans—carpenters, blackſmiths, and ploughmen. They likewiſe imagined that a very ſmall number of ſuch perſons, choſen for their quiet conduct and induſtrious regular habits, and ſent to ſettle among the Indians without parade or pomp, would do more good than the moſt ſplendid ſcheme of colonization, by means of the greateſt and wealthieſt body of ſettlers. Example was to be their great engine—and example, they well knew, works ſlowly, gradually, and quietly.

Proceeding upon theſe principles, they waved, for the preſent, every idea of converting the Indians to Chriſtianity. The remarks of the committee, to whoſe care we owe this publication, are peculiarly judicious and enlightened upon this point. 'It is probable,' they obſerve, 'that ſome readers may think every ſcheme of civilization defective, that does not immediately attempt to plant Chriſtianity. Of the infinite value of Chriſtianity, our Pennſylvanians are doubtleſs aware; but here, though they are not directly acting the part of miſſionaries, they are preaching religion by example; and are probably preparing the Indians, by more means than one, for the reception and acknowledgement of the goſpel.'

Their firſt ſtep was to addreſs circular letters to the different

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tribes in 1796, accompanied by one from the executive government of the United States, expreſſive of its approbation. The letters merely contained an offer to inſtruct ſuch as ſhould apply to them, in huſbandry. The Oneidas were the only tribe that at firſt made the application; and accordingly three Quakers repaired to their country, and ſettled there. At firſt, the natives were quite averſe to labour of every kind; and the Quakers only cultivated their own ground, and worked a ſaw-mill for themſelves. By degrees their example had its effect, and the uſe of the ſaw-mill and grift-mill became familiar to the tribe. In winter they opened a ſchool for the children; and in ſummer they found the Indians beginning to aſſiſt their wives in cultivating little pieces of ground—a labour which had formerly devolved entirely on the latter. The want of a blackſmith being very greatly felt, a Quaker of that profeſſion volunteered his ſervices to ſettle there; and his wife accompanied him, to inſtruct the Indian girls. A number of the young men were hired and boarded by the Quakers to aſſiſt them in working. The ſpirit of labour and taſte for huſbandry became more prevalent: the blackſmith's buſineſs was generally attended to: the women learnt to ſew and ſpin. Implements of huſbandry were judiciouſly and ſparingly diſtributed. The uſe of theſe was acquired; and, in 1799, the natives began to clear lands for themſelves, and ſow wheat.

Having proceeded thus far in reclaiming the tribe from the hunting ſtate, and its attendant miſery and idleneſs, an incident occurred, which diſplays, in a remarkable manner, the happy mixture of judgment with which the promoters of this admirable plan tempered their zeal. The whites of other ſects had not failed to ſpread abroad ſtories unfavourable to the ſcheme of the Quakers; and the Indians, naturally miſtruſtful, like all ſavages, began to entertain ſuſpicions that thoſe ſurmiſes were well-founded. They knew that the labours of the Quakers muſt have coſt money; and, as they never before ſaw any example of Europeans working for nothing, they ſuſpected that the new ſettlers had a deſign of making a permanent eſtabliſhment, and then laying claim to their lands. As ſoon as this notion came to the ears of the Quakers, they reſolved to withdraw inſtantly, and leave the natives in the natural courſe of improvement, to benefit by the civilization which they had already planted among them. After a reſidence of three years, therefore, they diſcloſed their intentions in a council of the nation; and they left the place, accompanied by the unanimous thanks and good wiſhes of thoſe rude tribes. A ſimilar inſtance of ſuſpicion afterwards occurred, and it was allayed with equal judgment. The Indians of another tribe having received many benefits from them, were afraid leſt repayment

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repayment should be demanded at some future time. A speedy and frank explanation from men whose honesty they never had even reason to doubt, at once allayed these apprehensions.

The observation of what had been done among the Oneidas, induced the Senecas to send an invitation, requesting a similar assistance from the Society. Three Quakers immediately repaired thither: they were welcomed with great joy; and thanks were given by the nation to the Great Spirit for their safe arrival among them. Here, as in every other hunting tribe, the women and girls are left to the labour of rearing such vegetables as their husbandry affords, and in hewing timber for fuel. The chase, and amusements of different sorts, occupied the men and boys. The Quakers exhorted them constantly to give up such practices; and never failed to set before them, in the strongest light, the necessity both of general industry and temperance; a virtue almost unknown among the Indians at the commencement of the Quaker missions. The progress of improvement in the arts and comforts of life, uniformly kept pace with the disuse of spirituous liquors; and, among the speeches and other communications of thanks from the chiefs of the tribe to the society and its emissaries, never fail to mark the state of morals, and especially of sobriety, among the natives. The sketch of improvement given above, relative to the Oneidas, is also applicable to its history among the Senecas. But we shall be excused for extracting the following discourse, delivered by the Quakers to those Indians in a council. It is, in our apprehension, the very model of a right missionary sermon. We shall also subjoin the answer of the chief.

"Brothers,

"It has afforded us satisfaction, in passing through your town, to notice marks of industry taking place; that you are building better and warmer houses to live in; and that so much of your cleared land is planted with corn, beans, potatoes, &c.; and to see these articles kept in good order.

"Brothers, we observe, where your new houses are building, that the timber is very much cut off a rich flat, which we wish you encouraged to clear and make fit for ploughing. We hope more of your men will assist in clearing and fencing land, and planting it with corn; also sowing it with wheat; you will then have a supply of provision, more certain to depend upon than hunting.

"Brothers, we are pleased to see your stock of cattle increased. The rich bottoms on the river will be plenty for them to live on in the summer season; but, as your winters are long and cold, it will require something for them to live on in the winter. The white people keep their cattle on hay, on straw, and on corn fodder. Straw you cannot get until you raise wheat or other grain; the rich bottoms, if put in

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order, would produce a great deal of hay. But, for an immediate supply, we think that, as soon as you gather the corn, if you would cut the stalks close at the ground, bind them up in small bundles, and put them in stacks, as our young men do, they would keep your cattle part of the cold weather.

" Brothers, we are pleased to see a quantity of fence made this summer, and we would not have you discouraged at the labour it takes; for, if you will clear a little more land every year, and fence it, you will soon get enough to raise what bread you want, as well as some for grass, to make hay for your cattle in winter.

" Brothers, we understand you are desirous to discourage whisky from being brought among you, with which we are much pleased, and should be glad you could entirely keep it away. To get it, you give your money with which you should buy clothing, oxen," &c.

' The Indians were also informed that one of the young men, who had been there since the settlement was first formed (about sixteen months), appeared most easy to leave them and return to his friends before winter. They hoped another would offer to supply his place.

' Cornplanter, on behalf of the nation, made a reply, in substance, as follows.

" That, when our young Friends first settled among them, many of his chiefs were averse to it; but they had this summer several councils among themselves respecting the young men; and all the chiefs seeing their good conduct and readiness to assist Indians, were now well satisfied. He hoped several of his young men would do more at farming than heretofore; and Friends must not be discouraged because so little was done; but exercise patience towards them, as it was hard for them to make much change from their ancient customs. He regreted the loss of the Friend who expected to leave them soon; he said he had been useful to him in keeping whisky, and other strong liquor, out of the town; that they now drank much less than formerly; but feared, when the Friend was gone, he should not keep it away so well as he had lately done." p. 18—21.

We add the following paſſage, as an intereſting account of the progreſs of a barbarous nation from rudeneſs, in one of the grand circumſtances which diſtinguiſhes the civilized from the barbarous ſtate of ſociety.

' In the ninth month of this year, * three of the committee visited the settlement, being accompanied by a young Friend, a blacksmith, who went to instruct some of the Indians in that useful and necessary occupation. Two of the visitors had been there before. The preceding spring, the Indians first began to use a plough; and the men performed the labour with a little instruction and assistance from Friends. They took a very cautious method of determining whether it was likely to be an advantageous change for them or not. Several parts of a very large

* September 1801.

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large field were ploughed; and the intermediate ſpaces prepared by their women with the hoe, according to antient cuſtom. It was all planted with corn; and the parts ploughed, beſides the great ſaving of labour, produced much the heavieſt crop; the ſtalks being more than a foot higher, and proportionably ſtouter, than thoſe on the hoed ground. The corn was now ripe and gathering in; and as their ſtock of cattle was much increaſed, inſtead of letting the ſtalks and leaves periſh on the ground as heretofore, they preſerved them for winter fodder. Several of them had mown graſs, and made ſmall ſtacks of hay; and they had made a fence about two miles long, which encloſes the lower town, and a large body of adjacent land fronting on the river; alſo ſeveral other fences within it, to ſeparate the corn ground from the paſture, &c.

'The cabins which they uſed to live in, were generally either gone to decay, or pulled down. Moſt of them had built good log houſes with ſhingled roofs, and ſome of them with ſtone chimneys.

'With the exception of houſes and fences, the improvements at Jeneſhadago did not bear a compariſon with the upper ſettlements, where the Indians live more ſcattered. Their thus ſettling ſeparate and detached from each other, was already manifeſtly more to their advantage than living together in villages. A chief, who is not aſhamed to be ſeen at work by the women of his own family, would probably be much mortified, were he diſcovered by a number of females, who, on ſuch occaſions, do not always refrain from ridicule. Yet this falſe ſhame on the part of the men, and ridicule of the women, is wearing away, in proportion as they become familiarized to each other's aſſiſtance in their little agricultural labours.

Friends requeſted a council with the chief women of the Jeneſhadago town, which was readily granted, when they were favoured to make ſome communications pertinent to their ſituation. The women expreſſed their thankfulneſs to the Great Spirit for affording them this council; the words, they ſaid, had ſunk deep into their hearts, and they hoped would never be forgotten by them. Cornplanter and his brother Conedieu were preſent.

'The Indians were become very ſober, generally refraining from the uſe of ſtrong drink, both at home, and when abroad among the white people. One of them obſerved to our committee, "No more bark cabin, but good houſes; no more get drunk here now this two year." p. 24, 25, 26.

We ſhall only add one proof more of the progress which induſtry had made among these tribes by the laborious and judicious example of the Quakers. A single tribe had formed a road of twenty-two miles in length; and a few families in one place had cleared and fenced sixty acres of good land.

It is impoſſible to contemplate the ſignal ſucceſs which has attended these experiments, without remarking that it was owing in part to the character of the Quakers, as well as to the

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wisdom of the plans which they here adopted. The general reputation of that sect for peacefulness and honesty, and the quiet manners of those whom they sent to reside among the Indians, could not fail to disarm any repugnance of the savage natives towards strangers, and to conciliate their confidence and esteem. Even their taciturnity was favourable to the end in view. 'Your young men,' said a chief in one of their councils, 'do not talk much to us; but when they do, they speak what is good, and have been very helpful in keeping us from using spirituous liquors.' Their punctual performance of engagements, and the regularity of all their habits had the same good effects in gaining the respect of the Indians. 'Brothers,' said they in a conference which had been held for the purpose of explaining some differences, 'Brothers, we are well satisfied with your conduct towards us. You have always done what you promised.' We subjoin the following anecdote as illustrative of the influence which the character of the sect has had on the success of their experience, and as interesting in itself. 'In the evening, when Friends were sitting with the chief warrior, he said he wished to ask them a question, but was almost afraid. They desired him to speak, and they would give him such information as they were able. It was, Do the Quakers keep any slaves? He was told, They did not. He said he was very glad to hear it; for if they had kept any, he could not think so well of them as he now did. That he had been at the city of Washington last winter on business of the nation, and found many white people kept blacks in slavery, and used them no better than horses.'

From these causes, as well as from the admirable discretion and sound sense which directed the formation of their plans, this small society of Quakers have, at an expense inconceivably trifling, secured the civilization of the Indian tribes, and laid the foundation of their entire conversion to the state of peaceful and industrious husbandmen, from that of wandering and turbulent and idle hunters. The missionaries left those children of their care mutually satisfied with the progress and result of their labours. For the first time Europeans had resided among them with no interested ends in view,—for the first time they had learnt no bad lesson, and received no injury from their intercourse with more polished communities,—for the first time since the voyage of Columbus, a stranger and a friend became compatible appellations,—the natural antipathy to new faces vanished in the course of further acquaintance,—and he who had been welcomed with distrust, was only suffered to depart with tears. The Indian tribes view the departure of the Quaker missionaries as a national calamity, and are not afraid to consult with their society on all matters of general import.

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ART. XVII. *A Complete Collection of Tables for Navigation and Nautical Astronomy: with simple, concise, and accurate Methods for all the Calculations useful at Sea; particularly for deducing the Longitude from Lunar Distances, and the Latitude from two Altitudes of the Sun, and the Interval of time between the Observations.* By Joseph de Mendoza Rios, Esq. F. R. S. London, printed by T. Bensley. 1805.

In every long and complicated process of arithmetical calculation, many steps necessarily occur that are common to it, and to an infinity of other processes of the same kind. These steps, of course, when performed in any one instance, may be of use in all others; the results, if preserved, may very much abridge the labour of all similar calculations that are afterwards to be made, and, when properly extended and arranged in tables, may produce a saving of time and trouble which is almost incalculable, and which greatly resembles the advantages gained by the division of labour in the mechanical arts.

Thus, in the common operations of trigonometry, the sines and tangents are numbers useful for all computations. Therefore, when once determined and arranged in tables, so as to be easily found out, they never require to be calculated again. By this obvious device, the work of trigonometry becomes very easy, which, if every sine and tangent were to be computed from the beginning, whenever it is wanted, would be quite intolerable; and even if men had the patience, they would want time to carry on their researches to any considerable extent.

Hence, the exact separation of those parts of a calculus that must be performed for every new case which occurs, from those that are the same in many cases, and that admit of being computed once for all, is of great importance when we would save time and labour, and, above all, when we would render the difficult processes of arithmetical calculation practicable to those who are not much instructed in mathematical science. For this last purpose, the use of tables, combined with the simplification of rules, has actually produced such effects as the most sanguine projector, half a century ago, would not have ventured to foretell.

To ascertain the longitude of a ship at sea by lunar observation, is a problem that has required the utmost efforts of genius to resolve. The extent of the reasonings, from the first axioms of geometry to the conclusion at last obtained, is of astonishing magnitude, embracing all the profounder investigations of geometrical, arithmetical, and physical science; yet so simple is the rule deduced from them, that, in any given instance, the problem can

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now be resolved by any one who is tolerably versed in the elementary operations of arithmetic.

For the purpose of reducing this and the other problems of nautical astronomy within the power of ordinary navigators, no work that we know of is better calculated than that which has just been announced. The collection of tables is so complete, that nothing seems wanting in it which the present state of science can supply. Besides this, it has several advantages that appear to us to be peculiar, and which we therefore think it our duty to point out.

It is well-known to calculators, that when numbers are to be taken out of tables, the computation of what are called the *proportional parts* constitutes the most troublesome part of the work.

As the tables, of whatever sort they are, cannot contain all the numbers that may be wanted, it becomes often necessary to *interpolate* a number between two that are contiguous in the table; and to be enabled to do this with ease, and at the same time with accuracy, is, in all such calculations, a matter of the greatest importance. When the interval between the contiguous *arguments* in the table is so small, that the numbers corresponding vary at a pretty uniform rate, the interpolation is made by the rule of three, or by supposing the differences of the numbers to be proportional to the differences of the *arguments*. But even when the thing is reduced to this degree of simplicity, the constant recurrence of an operation which produces in the mind a diversion from the main object of the calculus, becomes the most tiresome and embarassing part of the work. To avoid this as much as possible, the contiguous *arguments* must be made to differ very little, so that the corresponding numbers may differ very little also,—as by a few units in the last figure, or in the last but one,—so that the proportional part may be so small, that, if it cannot be wholly neglected, it may yet be taken out at sight, or estimated without any thing that can be called a calculation. The author of the work before us has been extremely attentive to this circumstance; and his tables are so contrived, that the labour of computing proportional parts is in most cases entirely avoided. Thus, in the table of sines, &c. the sine is given not merely to every minute of the semicircle, but to every quarter of a minute; so that the proportional part belonging to any intermediate number of seconds, (as the sines are given only to five decimal places), is very easily obtained. This requires, however, that the table should be larger than the common one, as in effect it contains four times as many numbers; and hence it is, that these nautical tables form a larger volume than any former collection. That inconvenience, however, is much more than compensated by the advantages which result from it.

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The two great nautical problems, to the ſolution of which theſe tables are peculiarly directed, viz. finding the longitude from lunar obſervations, and finding the latitude from two altitudes of the ſun, and the time between the obſervations, are here reſolved by new and ſimple rules, that do great credit to the ingenuity and invention of the author. Theſe two problems, it muſt be obſerved, are rendered difficult, not merely by the abſtruſeneſs of the principles on which they depend, but from the peculiar circumſtances in which they muſt be reſolved, and the condition of thoſe to whom the practical ſolution muſt be entruſted. The methods of ſolution that are of practical utility, are thus limited by conſiderations not involved in the problem itſelf, to which it is nevertheleſs of the utmoſt importance to attend. Hence, the ſolutions of problems, which, theoretically ſpeaking, are not of the greateſt difficulty, may become extremely perplexing in practice, when the means or inſtruments of ſolution are already preſcribed, and a new condition by that means introduced. For example, as logarithms muſt always be uſed in trigonometrical calculation, a great number of trigonometric theorems, that lead to ſolutions very ſimple in themſelves, muſt be rejected, as not eaſily uſed when logarithms are to be the inſtruments of calculation. Accordingly, the inventor of logarithms ſoon perceived, that the known rules of ſpherical trigonometry, however good in themſelves, gave very complicated ſolutions when logarithmic calculation was employed; becauſe theorems to which they are eaſily applicable, muſt expreſs the value of the thing wanted in terms of quantities combined by multiplication and diviſion, but not by addition and ſubtraction. Lord Napier, therefore, ſet about inveſtigating ſuch properties of ſpherical triangles as might have this character; and, with that felicity which can only accompany original genius, he ſoon fell on the trigonometrical theorems that bear his name, and that have added ſo much to the value of his firſt diſcovery.

A difficulty ſomewhat ſimilar has embarraſſed mathematicians in the ſolution of the nautical problem, of clearing the obſerved diſtance of the moon from a fixt ſtar of the effects of parallax and refraction. This problem, of no great difficulty abſtractedly conſidered, has nevertheleſs exerciſed the genius of many of the firſt mathematicians for the laſt fifty years; becauſe, not only was a ſolution required that might eaſily adapt itſelf to logarithmic computation, but one alſo that might be practiſed readily, and without danger of error, by men little converſant with the ſciences of algebra or geometry. A queſtion of the nature of *maxima* and *minima*, thus aroſe, viz. *Out of the poſſible ſolutions of a problem, to find that which is beſt adapted to men who muſt*

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must use certain instruments of calculation, and whose knowledge of the mathematics is confined within determinate, and often very narrow limits. In this adaptation of scientific discovery to the practice of art, nobody appears to us to have been more successful than M. Mendoza, in the case of which we now speak. His solution of the problem, with the assistance of his tables, appears to us to be simpler than any with which we are acquainted, and probably approaches very near to the utmost degree of conciseness which, consistently with accuracy, is possible to be attained. The demonstration of the solution is not given in this volume, which is confined to matters purely practical; but we hope it will hereafter be communicated. We understand it to be grounded on a solution of the problem published several years ago by the author, in a memoir printed at Madrid, and afterwards in his *Recherches sur les principaux Problemes de l'Astronomie Nautique*, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1797.

The other problem, of finding the latitude from two observed altitudes of the sun, and the interval of time between the observations, though it does not refer to circumstances that occur in navigation every day, yet it is a valuable resource with which the navigator ought not to be unacquainted, if he would have the practice of his art to be as independent as possible on accidental circumstances.

This problem, however, is in its nature not a little complicated, requiring the resolution of no less than three spherical triangles, and two of these in the cases where trigonometrical calculation is the most laborious. Various methods have been tried, and many different tables have been constructed for facilitating these computations, but hitherto with little success; for the process has remained much too intricate, and subdivided into too many cases, to be of general use. The solution given here is by far the simplest that has appeared, and brings the problem within the power of any ordinary calculator. The first part of the paper in the transactions just quoted, contains the several formulæ from which the rules here given are deduced. The great simplification which Mr Mendoza has thus effected, will be made evident to any one, who shall compare the great complication of precepts and cases in all the former solutions with the direct and easy process which he has laid down. The errors to which the calculator is exposed, when forced to attend to a great number of different circumstances, and the discouraging length of the computation being both removed, it may now be hoped, that this important problem, which has hitherto been of so little use, will become general in every system of navigation. The introduction of the versed sines has contributed much to simplify the solution of this problem, as well as of that already mentioned.

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The tables and rules contained in this volume, from which so much practical advantage may be expected, are deduced, as we have already observed, in great measure from the author's treatise on *nautical astronomy*, contained in the Philosophical Transactions, to which we would refer the mathematical reader. The first author, so far as we know, who treated professedly on this subject, was M. de Maupertuis, who deduced the various solutions from the orthographic projection of the sphere in a very simple manner; but his notation is not commodious; and the theorems, those of them at least that involve any considerable difficulty, are not reduced to the simplicity which practice requires. Some of the problems are resolved by quadratic, and even by biquadratic equations.

Gregorio Fontana has treated the same subject with more success. His notation is remarkably neat and convenient, and his theorems have great simplicity.

Mr Mendoza has treated the subject with that superiority which might be expected from one who is not only a profound mathematician, but a skilful seaman, and who has both studied navigation as a science, and practised it as an art. He knew, of course, the problems that were of real practical utility, and was a judge of the degree of simplicity which a mathematical theorem must possess before it can be safely put into the hands of an ordinary navigator. These circumstances have rendered the treatise just mentioned of great value; and we earnestly recommend the study of it to all who would acquire a thorough knowledge of nautical astronomy.

Among the recommendations of the work now under review, we must not neglect to mention its cheapness, the whole, though a quarto volume of 670 pages of arithmetical tables, printed with great neatness and accuracy, being sold at the price of one guinea. This advantage, so singular at a time when even ordinary printing is exorbitantly dear, the book owes to the munificence of two public bodies, and to the disinterestedness of the author himself. Mr Mendoza tells us—

'The expenses attending this work are such, that had it been published in the usual manner, the price of the book must have been so high as to confine its utility solely to that class of navigators who are in easy circumstances; and which, unfortunately, is not the most numerous. But the Commissioners of Longitude have remedied this disadvantage, by granting a sum of money to reduce the price to the public; and I here present my most respectful thanks to them for this honourable testimony of their approbation of my labours.

'The Court of Directors of the East India Company, whose liberality with regard to science in general, and particularly that of navigation, is

is so well known, have also voted a sum of money to effect a further reduction in the price of this work; for which I likewise present to them my best acknowledgments.

'With this double assistance, and the additional sacrifice, on my part, of all views of profit, I have settled the sale of this edition on the moderate terms at which it is now published; and I shall esteem myself happy, if my endeavours to bring these tables before the public, in the most likely manner to prove useful, should contribute in any degree to improve and diffuse the practice of nautical astronomy.'

We are glad to add, that the success of the work has been such as might be expected from the union of its own merit with the established reputation of its author, and the patronage of so respectable a body as the Board of Longitude. The first edition, though a very large one, is said to be already nearly sold off, and a second, we hope, will soon extend the celebrity, and bring with it a pecuniary remuneration to the author.

ART. XVIII. *Epistles, Odes, and other Poems.* By Thomas Moore Esq. 4to. pp. 350. London. 1806.

A SINGULAR sweetness and melody of versification,—smooth, copious, and familiar diction,—with some brilliancy of fancy, and some show of classical erudition, might have raised Mr Moore to an innocent distinction among the song-writers and occasional poets of his day; but he is indebted, we fear, for the celebrity he actually enjoys, to accomplishments of a different description; and may boast, if the boast can please him, of being the most licentious of modern versifiers, and the most poetical of those who, in our times, have devoted their talents to the propagation of immorality. We regard his book, indeed, as a public nuisance; and would willingly trample it down by one short movement of contempt and indignation, had we not reason to apprehend, that it was abetted by patrons who are entitled to a more respectful remonstrance, and by admirers who may require a more extended exposition of their dangers.

There is nothing, it will be allowed, more indefensible than a cold-blooded attempt to corrupt the purity of an innocent heart; and we can scarcely conceive any being more truly despicable, than he who, without the apology of unruly passion or tumultuous desires, sits down to ransack the impure places of his memory for inflammatory images and expressions, and commits them laboriously to writing, for the purpose of insinuating pollution into the minds of unknown and unsuspecting readers.

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This is almoſt a new crime among us. While France has to blush for ſo many tomes of 'Poeſies Erotiques,' we have little to anſwer for, but the coarſe indecencies of Rocheſter and Dryden; and theſe, though ſufficiently offenſive to delicacy and good taſte, can ſcarcely be regarded as dangerous. There is an antidote to the poiſon they contain, in the open and undiſguiſed profligacy with which it is preſented. If they are wicked, they have the honeſty at leaſt to profeſs wickedneſs. The mark of the beaſt is ſet viſibly on their foreheads; and though they have the boldneſs to recommend vice, they want the effrontery to make her paſs for virtue. In their groſſeſt immoralities, too, they ſcarcely ever ſeem to be perfectly in earneſt; and appear neither to wiſh nor to hope to make proſelytes. They indulge their own vein of groſs riot and debauchery; but they do not ſeek to corrupt the principles of their readers; and are contented to be reprobated as profligate, if they are admired at the ſame time for wit and originality.

The immorality of Mr Moore is infinitely more inſidious and malignant. It ſeems to be his aim to impoſe corruption upon his readers, by concealing it under the maſk of refinement; to reconcile them imperceptibly to the moſt vile and vulgar ſenſuality, by blending its language with that of exalted feeling and tender emotion; and to ſteal impurity into their hearts, by gently perverting the moſt ſimple and generous of their affections. In the execution of this unworthy taſk, he labours with a perſeverance at once ludicrous and deteſtable. He may be ſeen in every page running round the paltry circle of his ſeductions with incredible zeal and anxiety, and ſtimulating his jaded fancy for new images of impurity, with as much melancholy induſtry as ever outcaſt of the muſes hunted for epithets or metre.

It is needleſs, we hope, to go deep into the inquiry, why certain compoſitions have been reprobated as licentious, and their authors ranked among the worſt enemies of morality. The criterion by which their delinquency may be determined, is fortunately very obvious: no ſcene can be tolerated in deſcription, which could not be contemplated in reality, without a groſs violation of propriety: no expreſſion can be pardoned in poetry, to which delicacy could not liſten in the proſe of real life.

No writer can tranſgreſs thoſe limits, and be held guiltleſs; but there are degrees of guiltineſs, and circumſtances of aggravation or apology, which ought not to be diſregarded. A poet of a luxuriant imagination may give too warm a colouring to the repreſentation of innocent endearments, or be betrayed into indelicacies in delineating the allurements of ſome fair ſeducer, while it is obviouſly his general intention to give attraction to the picture

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picture of virtue, and to put the reader on his guard against the assault of temptation. Mr Moore has no such apology; he takes care to intimate to us, in every page, that the raptures which he celebrates do not spring from the excesses of an innocent love, or the extravagance of a romantic attachment; but are the unhallowed fruits of cheap and vulgar prostitution, the inspiration of casual amours, and the chorus of habitual debauchery. He is at pains to let the world know that he is still fonder of roving, than of loving; and that all the Caras and the Fannys, with whom he holds dalliance in these pages, have had each a long series of preceding lovers, as highly favoured as their present poetical paramour: that they meet without any purpose of constancy, and do not think it necessary to grace their connexion with any professions of esteem or permanent attachment. The greater part of the book is filled with serious and elaborate descriptions of the ecstacies of such an intercourse, and with passionate exhortations to snatch the joys, which are thus [illegible] dantly poured forth from 'the fertile fount of sense.'

To us, indeed, the perpetual kissing, and twining, and panting of these amorous persons, is rather ludicrous than seductive; and their eternal sobbing and whining, raises no emotion in our bosoms, but those of disgust and contempt. Even to younger men, we believe, the book will not be very dangerous: nor is it upon their account that we feel the indignation and alarm which we have already endeavoured to express. The life and conversation of our sex, we are afraid, is seldom so pure as to leave them much to learn from publications of this description; and they commonly know enough of the reality, to be aware of the absurd illusions and exaggerations of such poetical voluptuaries. In them, therefore, such a composition can work neither corruption nor deception; and it will, in general, be despised and thrown aside, as a tissue of sickly and fantastical conceits, equally remote from truth and respectability. It is upon the other sex, that we conceive its effects may be most pernicious; and it is chiefly as an insult upon their delicacy, and an attack upon their purity, that we are disposed to resent its publication.

The reserve in which women are educated; the natural vivacity of their imaginations; and the warmth of their sensibility, renders them peculiarly liable to be captivated by the appearance of violent emotions, and to be misled by the affectation of tenderness or generosity. They easily receive any impression that is made under the apparent sanction of these feelings; and allow themselves to be seduced into any thing, which they can be persuaded is dictated by disinterested attachment, and sincere and excessive love. It is easy to perceive how dangerous it must be

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be for such beings to hang over the pages of a book, in which supernatural raptures, and transcendent passion, are counterfeited in every page; in which, images of voluptuousness are artfully blended with expressions of refined sentiment, and delicate emotion; and the grossest sensuality is exhibited in conjunction with the most gentle and generous affections. They who have not learned from experience, the impossibility of such an union, are apt to be captivated by its alluring exterior. They are seduced by their own ignorance and sensibility; and become familiar with the dæmon, for the sake of the radiant angel to whom he has been linked by the malignant artifice of the poet.

We have been induced to enter this strong protest, and to express ourselves thus warmly against this and the former publications of this author, both from what we hear of the circulation which they have already obtained, and from our conviction that they are calculated, if not strongly denounced to the public, to produce, at this moment, peculiar and irremediable mischief. The style of composition, as we have already hinted, is almost new in this country: it is less offensive than the old fashion of obscenity; and for these reasons, perhaps, is less likely to excite the suspicion of the moralist, or to become the object of precaution to those who watch over the morals of the young and inexperienced. We certainly have known it a permitted study, where performances, infinitely less pernicious, were rigidly interdicted.

There can be no time in which the purity of the female character can fail to be of the first importance to every community; but it appears to us, that it requires at this moment to be more carefully watched over than at any other; and that the constitution of society has arrived among us to a sort of crisis, the issue of which may be powerfully influenced by our present neglect or solicitude. From the increasing diffusion of opulence, enlightened or polite society is greatly enlarged, and necessarily becomes more promiscuous and corruptible; and women are now beginning to receive a more extended education, to venture more freely and largely into the fields of literature, and to become more of intellectual and independent creatures, than they have yet been in these islands. In these circumstances, it seems to be of incalculable importance, that no attaint should be given to the delicacy and purity of their expanding minds; that their increasing knowledge should be of good chiefly, and not of evil; that they should not consider modesty as one of the prejudices from which they are now to be emancipated; nor found any part of their new influence upon the licentiousness of which Mr Moore invites them to be partakers. The character and the morality of women exercises already a mighty influence upon the happiness and the respectability

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ſpectability of the nation; and it is deſtined, we believe, to exerciſe a ſtill higher one: but if they ſhould ever ceaſe to be the pure, the delicate, and timid creatures that they now are—if they ſhould ceaſe to overawe profligacy, and to win and to ſhame men into decency, fidelity, and love of unſullied virtue—it is eaſy to ſee that this influence, which has hitherto been exerted to ſtrengthen and refine our ſociety, will operate entirely to its corruption and debaſement; that domeſtic happineſs and private honour will be extinguiſhed, and public ſpirit and national induſtry moſt probably annihilated along with them.

There is one other conſideration which has helped to excite our apprehenſion on occaſion of this particular performance. Many of the pieces are dedicated to perſons of the firſt conſideration in the country, both for rank and accompliſhments; and the author appears to conſider the greater part of them as his intimate friends, and undoubted patrons and admirers. Now this, we will confeſs, is to us a very alarming conſideration. By theſe channels, the book will eaſily paſs into circulation in thoſe claſſes of ſociety, which it is of moſt conſequence to keep free of contamination; and from which its reputation and its influence will deſcend with the greateſt effect to the great body of the community. In this reading and opulent country, there are no faſhions which diffuſe themſelves ſo faſt, as thoſe of literature and immorality: there is no palpable boundary between the *nobleſſe* and the *bourgeoiſie*, as in old France, by which the corruption and intelligence of the former can be prevented from ſpreading to the latter. All the parts of the maſs act and react upon each other with a powerful and unintermitted agency; and if the head be once infected, the corruption will ſpread irreſiſtibly through the whole body. It is doubly neceſſary, therefore, to put the law in force againſt this delinquent, ſince he has not only indicated a diſpoſition to do miſchief, but ſeems unfortunately to have found an opportunity.

In ſome of theſe obſervations, we are afraid that our faſhionable readers may detect the extreme rigour of our Calviniſtic education, and think that we have treated this libertine bard with unneceſſary ſeverity. To ſuch perſons, we beg leave to recommend the following lines of an old Engliſh poet, in which the iniquities of Mr Moore's compoſitions are deſcribed, we think, in prophetic language; and a ſentence is paſſed upon them not much lighter than that which we wiſh the public to ratify.

'Thereto he could fine loving verſes frame,
And play the Poet oft. But, ah! for ſhame!
Let not ſweet poets praiſe, whoſe only pride
Is virtue to advance and vice deride,

Be

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Be with the work of Losel's wit defamed;
Ne let such verses poetry be named.
Yet he the name on him would rashly take,
Maugre the sacred Muses, and it make
A servant to the vile affection
Of such as he depended most upon,
And with the sugry sweet thereof allure
Chaste ladies ears to fantasies impure.
To such delights the Noble Wits he led,
Which him relieved, and their vain humours fed
With fruitless follies and unsound delights.'

Spenser's Mother Hubbard's Tale.

On looking back to the volume, with a view to eſtimate its poetical merits impartially, as ſeparated from its ſins of morality, we were ſurpriſed to find how little praiſe it could lay claim to; and are more and more convinced, that its popularity is owing almoſt entirely to the ſeduction of the ſubjects on which it is employed. We ſhall not ſtain our page with any of the paſſages to which our preceding cenſures are intended to apply; but the following may ſerve as a ſpecimen of Mr Moore's talent for witty and familiar poetry.

'When next you ſee the black-ey'd CATY,
The loving, languid girl of Hayti,
Whoſe finger ſo expertly plays
Amid the ribbon's ſilken maze,
Juſt like Aurora, when ſhe ties
A rainbow round the morning ſkies!
Say, that I hope, when winter's o'er,
On Norfolk's bank again to rove,
And then, ſhall ſearch the ribbon-ſtore
For ſome of CATY's ſoftest *love*.

I ſhould not like the goſs were paſt,
Yet want it not entirely new;
But bright and ſtrong enough to laſt
About—ſuppoſe a week or two.
However frail, however light,
'Twill do, at leaſt, to wear at night:
And ſo you'll tell our black-ey'd CATY,
The loving, languid girl of Hayti!' p. 64, 65.

If the reader ſhould want a ſpecimen of his more elaborate and lofty gallantry, he may take the following; which appears to us to be rather a ſplendid example of that figure of ſpeech which is commonly called nonſenſe.

'I pray thee, on thoſe lips of thine
To wear this roſy leaf for me,

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And breathe of something not divine,
Since nothing human breathes of thee!

All other charms of thine I meet
In nature, but thy sigh alone;
Then take, oh! take, though not so sweet,
The breath of roses for thine own!

So, while I walk the flowery grove,
The bud that gives, through morning dew,
The lustre of the lips I love,
May seem to give their perfume too!' p. 99.

In the same taste is the following magnificent stanza on a lady holding a child in her arms.

'Soft as she smil'd, he smil'd again;
They seem'd so kindred in their charms,
That one might think the babe had then
Just budded in her blooming arms!
He look'd like something form'd of air,
Which she had utter'd in a sigh;
Like some young spirit, resting there,
That late had wander'd from her eye!' p. 101.

The tawdry, affected, and finical style of this author, cannot be better illustrated than in those verses about something which he calls the Snow-Spirit.

'The down from his wing is as white, as the pearl
Thy lips for their cabinet stole,
And it falls on the green earth as melting, my girl,
As a murmur of thine on the soul!

Oh! fly to the clime where he pillows the death,
As he cradles the birth of the year;
Bright are your bowers and balmy their breath,
But the Snow-Spirit cannot come here!' p. 102, 103.

This is in the right millinery taste; but it is surpassed by what follows.

'But fly to his region—lay open thy zone,
And he'll weep all his brilliancy dim,
To think that a bosom, as white as his own,
Should not melt in the day-beam like him!' p. 103.

Mr Moore, however, has not always confined himself to those familiar and gallant lucubrations: he has favoured his readers with several fine specimens of sublimity, and made a splendid display of his erudition, in a variety of mythological hymns and epistles. The most superb, perhaps, is a dithyrambic on the fall of Hebe, which has the merit of being almost entirely unintelligible; our readers may try their penetration upon the following passages.

'And

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'And now she rais'd her rosy mouth to sip
The nectar'd wave
Lyæus gave,
And from her eyelids, gently clos'd,
Shed a dissolving gleam,
Which fell, like sun-dew, in the bowl!
While her bright hair in mazy flow
Of gold, descending
Along her cheek's luxurious glow,
Wav'd o'er the goblet's side,
And was reflected by its crystal tide,
Like a sweet crocus flower,
Whose sunny leaves, at evening hour,
With roses of Cyrene blending,
Hang o'er the mirror of a silver stream!

The Olympian cup
Burn'd in the hands
Of dimpled Hebe, as she wing'd her feet
Up
The empyreal mount,
To drain the soul-drops at their stellar fount;
And still,
As the resplendent rill
Flam'd o'er the goblet with a mantling heat,
Her graceful care
Would cool its heavenly fire
In gelid waves of snowy-feather'd air,
Such as the children of the pole respire,
In those enchanted lands,
Where life is all a spring, and north winds never blow!
But oh!
Sweet Hebe, what a tear,
And what a blush were thine,
When, as the breath of every Grace,' &c. p. 222-4.

Those who can interpret this, have some chance of understanding the following—

'Welcome, my shell!
How many a star has ceas'd to burn,
How many a tear has Saturn's gleaming urn
O'er the cold bosom of the ocean wept,
Since thy aerial spell
Hath in the waters slept!
Mortal! I fly,
With the bright treasure to my choral sky,
Where she, who wak'd its early swell,
The syren, with a foot of fire,
Walks o'er the great string of my Orphic Lyre,

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Or guides around the burning pole
The winged chariot of ſome bliſsful ſoul!
'While thou!
Oh ſon of earth! what dreams ſhall riſe for thee!
Beneath Hiſpania's ſun,
Thou'lt ſee a ſtreamlet run,
Which I have warm'd with dews of melody.' p. 50, 51.

There are some very fine lines, such as—

'Where matter *darkles*, or where ſpirit beams.'—
'Blaſt thee with the lightning bug.'

and

'Fiery fever's thrifty thrill,
'Fitful ague's ſhivering chill!'

But we prefer the artless innocence of the following namby-pamby—

'Then my playful hand I ſteep
Where the gold-thread loves to creep,
Cull from thence a tangled wreath,
Words of magic round it breathe,
And the ſunny chaplet ſpread
O'er the ſleeping fly-bird's head;
Till, with dreams of honey bleſt,
Haunted in his downy neſt
By the garden's faireſt ſpells,
Dewy buds and fragrant bells,
Fancy all his ſoul embowers
In the fly-bird's heaven of flowers!' p. 314.

The pieces which approach the nearest to common sense, are those which are conceived in the form of Epistles to the friends of the author. They are written in the ordinary heroic measure, and, along with the characteristic tawdriness of his usual style, display occasional point and vivacity, that, under a severer training, might entitle the author to the attention of the public. We give the beginning of the epistle to Dr Hume, as a very favourable specimen.

'Tis evening now; the heats and cares of day
In twilight dews are calmly wept away.
The lover now, beneath the weſtern ſtar,
Sighs through the medium of his ſweet ſegar,
And fills the ears of ſome conſenting ſhe
With puffs and vows, with ſmoke and conſtancy!
The weary ſtateſman for repoſe hath fled
From halls of council to his negro's ſhed,
Where bleſt he woos ſome black Aſpaſia's grace,
And dreams of freedom in his ſlave's embrace!
In fancy now, beneath the twilight gloom,
Come, let me lead thee o'er this modern Rome,

Where

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Where tribunes rule, where dusky Davi bow,
And what was Goose-Creek once, is Tiber now!
This fam'd metropolis, where Fancy sees
Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees;
Which travelling fools and gazetteers adorn
With shrines unbuilt, and heroes yet unborn,
Though nought but wood and ********* they see,
Where streets should run and sages *ought* to be!' p. 209–10.

The following is an abstract of the author's severe judgment on the Americans.

'Mind, mind alone, in barren, still repose,
Nor blooms, nor rises, nor expands, nor flows!
Take Christians, mohawks, democrats and all,
From the rude wig-wam to the congress-hall;
From man the savage, whether slav'd or free,
To man the civiliz'd, less tame than he!
'Tis one dull chaos, one unfertile strife
Betwixt half-polish'd and half-barbarous life;
Where every ill the ancient world can brew
Is mix'd with every grossness of the new;
Where all corrupts, though little can entice,
And nothing's known of luxury, but its vice!' p. 267.

Whatever may be thought of the poetry or the politics of these passages, they are at least innocent in point of morality. But they bear but a small proportion to the objectionable contents of the volume, and cannot be allowed to atone for the demerits of a publication which we would wish to see consigned to universal reprobation.

ART. XIX. *Simple Tales*. By Mrs Opie. In Four Volumes. 12mo. London. 1806.

WE owe some apology to Mrs Opie, for omitting, at the proper time, to take notice of her beautiful story of the Mother and Daughter; the second volume of which is perhaps the most pathetic, and the most natural in its pathos, of any fictitious narrative in the language. In the tales now before us, we find much of the same merits; the same truth and delicacy of sentiment; the same graceful simplicity in the dialogue parts of the work; and the same happy art of presenting ordinary feelings and occurrences in a manner that irresistibly commands our sympathy and affection.

Mrs Opie has no great share of invention, either in incident or in character. We often see through the whole story from its first opening; and few of her personages can be said to be ori-

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ginal, or even uncommon, when compared either with the inventions of dramatiſts, or the variety of common life. They have a merit, however, which in our eyes is incomparably ſuperior,—they are ſtrictly true to general nature, and are rarely exhibited, except in intereſting ſituations. We have always been of opinion, indeed, that no character can be natural, unleſs it be pretty common; and that that originality, of which ſo many writers are ambitious, is of value chiefly in bringing out the effect of ludicrous and violently comical repreſentations. For more ſerious ſympathy, we muſt be made to feel that the ſentiments and actions of the characters are ſuch, as muſt inevitably belong to all perſons in their ſituation; and it is on the delicate adaptation of their language and conduct to their circumſtances, and not to any ſuppoſed peculiarity in their character, that the ſucceſs of the writer will generally depend. It will be found accordingly, we believe, that almoſt all the fine traits of natural expreſſion that are quoted and remembered, from the dramatiſts and greater poets, both ancient and modern, derive their whole beauty from this perfect and beautiful conformity to general and univerſal nature; and that they reach the heart of every reader, juſt becauſe every reader perceives at once that they expreſs the concentrated and appropriate emotion, which it is natural for perſons in ſuch circumſtances to feel. There is no need for the repreſentation of ideal individuality. The general conception of a delicate and affectionate girl—of a gallant and warm-hearted young man—of a tender mother, a patriotic warrior, or an anxious lover—are quite ſufficient to call forth our ſympathies, and to make us feel, in its whole force and extent, the truth of the ſentiments imputed to them. The taſk and the triumph of the fabuliſt is in ſelecting ſituations that give riſe to the moſt powerful and commanding of thoſe ſentiments, and in expreſſing them with ſimplicity and directneſs.

Theſe obſervations might be illuſtrated, we conceive, in a very ſtriking way, by an examination of the moſt impreſſive paſſages and characters in the works of Shakeſpeare; nor would it be difficult perhaps to ſhow, that what have often been quoted as examples of originality in the conception of character, are nothing more than the exquiſite adaptation of common and familiar feelings to peculiar ſituations. It is impoſſible for us, however, to enter into ſuch an inveſtigation at preſent. We ſhall merely deſire our readers to conſider how little ſubſtantial diverſity of character there is among the female perſons of this great writer; and whether it is to any thing, but to the difference of their ſituation, that we can refer the variety of emotion which we receive from the natural expreſſions of Deſdemona, Imogen, Juliet, Ophelia, and Miranda.

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There is something delightfully feminine in all Mrs Opie's writings; an apparent artleſſneſs in the compoſition of her narrative, and ſomething which looks like want of ſkill or of practice in writing for the public, that gives a powerful effect to the occaſional beauties and ſucceſſes of her genius. There is nothing like an ambitious or even a ſuſtained tone in her ſtories; we often think ſhe is going to be tedious or ſilly; and immediately, without effort or apparent conſciouſneſs of improvement, ſhe ſlides into ſome graceful and intereſting dialogue, or charms us with ſome fine and delicate analyſis of the ſubtler feelings, which would have done honour to the genius of Marivaux. She does not reaſon well; but ſhe has, like moſt accompliſhed women, the talent of perceiving truth, without the proceſs of reaſoning, and of bringing it out with the facility and the effect of an obvious and natural ſentiment. Her language is often inaccurate, but it is almoſt always graceful and harmonious. She can do nothing well that requires to be done with formality; and, therefore, has not ſucceeded in copying either the concentrated force of weighty and deliberate reaſon, or the ſevere and ſolemn dignity of majeſtic virtue. To make amends, however, ſhe repreſents admirably every thing that is amiable, generous, and gentle.

Theſe tales are of very unequal merit; and we do not propoſe to give any detailed account of them. Thoſe in the third volume, we think, are clearly the beſt. The Soldier's Return, and the Brother and Siſter, though the ſcene is laid, in both, in humble life, and the incidents by no means new either in real or fictitious ſtory, are pathetic to a painful and diſtreſſing degree. The latter in particular is written with great delicacy and beauty. We regret that our limits will not permit us to give ſome part of it to our readers. We can only make room for the laſt words of the unfortunate heroine, with one ſentence of neceſſary explanation. Ellen Percival, the beautiful daughter of an Engliſh farmer, is ſeduced by a French Nobleman who had lodged in her father's houſe during a period of illneſs. After his deſertion of her, and his return to his own country, ſhe is driven by ſhame and temporary diſtraction to deſtroy, at the moment of its birth, the fruit of their unlawful connexion. She is condemned to die; and, on the eve of her execution, writes this letter to the author of all her agonies. We are ſenſible that it will loſe much of its effect when read without any further knowledge of the tender and ſimple character of the writer; but it is impoſſible to read it, we believe, without being ſtruck with the tone of natural and gentle feeling which it expreſſes ſo admirably.

"From the condemned cell, in S——— jail, and on the eve of my execution.

"Yes; it is even ſo! That Ellen, whom you once *ſeemed* to love,

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(for I find from your letter to the Count, that you never *really* loved me,) that fond, foolish Ellen, who loved you even more than her own soul, will to-morrow morning perish on a scaffold! O thou, whom I have loved so fatally, think of me as I was when you first knew me, and think of me now! But do not think that I mean to reproach you:—You did not intend to destroy me! No; you only intended to seduce me.—But is there such a thing as a single crime! Does not one crime inevitably lead to another!

"How shocked I was when I found that there would be an evidence of my guilt! My first impulse was to destroy myself:—but then I recollected how that would grieve you—(poor credulous fool!)—for my mother told me how much you cried and bewailed when you saw me ill in bed, and feared that I should die. I therefore resolved to live, not from fear of God, but from love of you! And then I thought that it would be sweet to live for the sake of *your child;* and what pleasure it would give me to present it to your arms one day, and see you smile on it; for methought you would love me the more for its sake; and that dear hope supported me through such sufferings! But at length came the Count and your letter: I found that we were never to meet again: I found that you were married, and to a woman whom you passionately loved, and who had alone taught you to love; and you would have been the happiest of the happy but for thinking of *poor* Ellen Percival. Yes; from the seeming object of your love I was become the object of your pity only; and then you hoped by your money to make me amends for the loss of your affection! Oh! what a pang the offer of that money gave me! But the Count can tell you how I spurned your gift. I dare not even think again of the horror of that moment. He left me to commune with my own sad thoughts; and all was disappointment and desperation.

"The child, for whose sake, and for the sake of my poor parents' peace, I had consented to live, would, I found, be never seen by its father, nor even owned by him when it came into existence; and all the dreams of my fond fancy were vanished for ever, while its birth would doom me to endless disgrace, and probably destroy both my parents! On these thoughts I dwelt, till deeds of death were dear and familiar to me. I cannot go on:—for, oh, my murdered babe, am I not writing to thy father! Yet mark me, mark me Fontanges; I was mad, indeed I was, or I could not have been so barbarous. But this defence I make only to thee, and to the God who reads my heart. It sufficed not before the judgment-seat of men: there I was condemned to death, and to-morrow I shall be executed!

"But I had forgotten:—My father, that good old man who was so kind to you, heard the tale of my guilt—shuddered—and died.

"Morning is already dawning! Now, then, I must bid you farewell, conjuring you to drop a few tears over the story of my woes, and then endeavour to remember me no more. Trust me that I forgive you from my soul for all the grief which you have occasioned me; and that

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that my dying prayer will be, that you may be as happy in *your* love as I have been unfortunate in *mine.* But I don't think any body can love you better than your *poor*

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'Not one kind look—one friendly word!
Wilt thou in chilling ſilence ſit?
Nor through the ſocial hour afford
One cheering ſmile, or beam of wit?

Yet ſtill, abſorb'd in ſtudious care,
Neglect to waſte one look on me;
For then my happy eyes may dare
To gaze and dwell uncheck'd on thee.

And ſtill in ſilence ſit, nor deign
One gentle precious word to ſay;
For ſilent I may then remain,
Nor let my voice my ſoul betray.

This falt'ring voice, theſe conſcious eyes,
My throbbing heart too plainly ſpeak:
There timid hopeleſs paſſion lies,
And bids it *ſilence* keep, and *break.*'

'To me how dear this twilight hour,
Cheer'd by the faggot's varying blaze!
If this be mine, I aſk no more
On morn's refulgent light to gaze:

For now, while on HIS glowing cheek
I ſee the fire's red radiance fall,
The darkeſt ſeat I ſoftly ſeek,
And gaze on HIM, unſeen by all.

His folded arms, his ſtudious brow,
His thoughtful eye, unmark'd, I ſee;
Nor could his voice or words beſtow
So dear, ſo true a joy on me.

But he forgets that I am near—
Fame, future fame, in thought he ſeeks.
To him ambition's paths appear,
And bright the ſun of ſcience breaks.

His heart with ardent hope is fill'd;
His proſpects full of beauty bloom:

But,

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But, oh! *my* heart despair has chill'd,
My only prospect is—the tomb!

One only boon from Heaven I claim,
And may it grant the fond desire!
That I may live to hear his fame,
And in that throb of joy *expire.*'

'One little moment, short as blest,
Compassion Love's soft semblance wore,
My meagre form he fondly press'd,
And on his beating bosom bore.

His frame with strong emotion shook,
And kindness tun'd each falt'ring word;
While I, surpris'd, with anxious look
The meaning of his glance explor'd.

But soon my too experienc'd heart
Read nought but generous pity there;
I felt presumptuous hope depart,
And all again was dark despair.

Yet still, in memory still, my heart
Lives o'er that fleeting bliss again;
I feel his glance, his touch, impart
Emotion through each hurrying vein.

And "*Once* (I cry) those eyes so sweet
"On me with fondness deign'd to shine;
"For once I felt his bosom beat
"Against the conscious throbs of mine!"

Nor shall the dear remembrance die
While aught of life to me is given;
But sooth my last convulsive sigh,
And be, till then, my joy—my heaven!'

IV. p. 267. 68. 70. 71.

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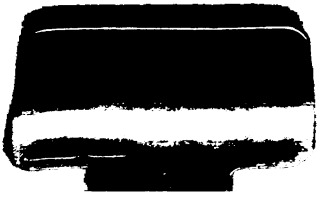

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